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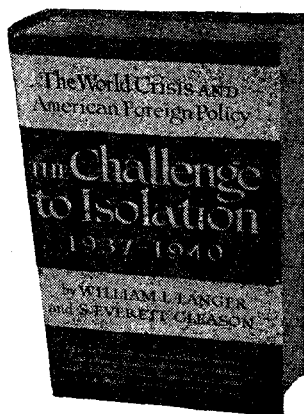
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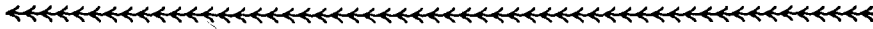
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Men Are More Alike

BOYD C. SHAFER

THE other day one of my students burst out, "If men want peace, they'll have to eliminate or change their histories. We ought to have a history of men, not just these national things." He thought that he had a new idea; it was new to him. Aristotle, of course, thought of it as he did of everything else, and so have occasional historians and social scientists ever since. Thirty years ago the prophet H. G. Wells prefaced his *Outline of History* with "There can be no common peace and prosperity without common historical ideas."¹

Historians do not write to propagandize for "peace and prosperity." The proper end of scholarly endeavor is the discovery of truth or the closest approximation to it. The first duty of a historian is to search for truth about the human past, to describe it and interpret it, "*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist.*" If the historian first seeks any other end, he, like any other scholar, is denying his own reason for existence and refusing the primary though not the only responsibility of his profession. When he uses his craft for good or bad propaganda, fits facts to his prejudice, consciously or stupidly errs in logic

¹ H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History* (3d ed., New York, 1921), pp. v-vi. See discussion by Edward Mead Earle, "H. G. Wells, British Patriot in Search of a World State," *Nationalism and Internationalism* (New York, 1950).

to reach a predetermined point of view, he is neither historian nor scholar. But these are just the obvious types of error that modern historians may make.

There is another kind of error that leads them from truth, from scholarship, from history. This they usually commit in good faith and without conscious design. It is seeing men first of all and almost only as nationalities, races, classes, above all in Western civilization in viewing men almost exclusively in terms of national groups, therefore as but fragments of men particularly as these are differentiated from other fragments.²

The customary method of historians in our times, and for the last two centuries, has been to write national histories, to study national institutions, to attempt solution of national problems. It is easier and more convenient, the material can be more readily collected and synthesized, they themselves are nationalists, it is politic, and it has become a tradition. They also do it because the nation has become the most important social unit and the most obvious one to study. People in our time live in nation-states, and possess national consciousness; most of their vital activities are carried on within the framework of the nation-state. Moreover, as practitioners of the scientific method, scholars are bound to look for distinctions, for differences based on kind, level, and function; and nationality is the most significant contemporary group distinction. Our Western civilization, and this is one of the marks of a highly civilized society, teaches its intelligent men to look for variations from whatever seems to be the norm and to classify these within closed, schematic concepts. This, in the present case, usually means study of national thought and action, not the universal or local. Our whole scholarly orientation is toward the elaboration of the differences rather than concentration upon commonness or similarity.

Whatever the cause the modern Gibbons, Voltaires, Buckles, Guizots, and Andrew D. Whites³ are few and the standard works, with few exceptions, are histories of this or that nation, national idea, or institution. This way of looking at men has validity; it is not always false; it is often the only way historians, for example, can get at anything tangible—most modern documents are produced by national institutions. But to study men as if they existed only in segments, to ignore what they have in common and how they are alike is not to approximate the whole truth. It is partial, incomplete, and

² Thus the late Robert C. Binkley in his bibliographical essay in *Realism and Nationalism, 1852-1871* (New York, 1935), p. 307, had to remark, "The principal lacunae in European History of this period is a deficiency of histories of Europe." Except for American textbooks usually divided into chapters on each nation, this is true of all periods of European history since 1815.

³ See his plea as first president of the American Historical Association in his address "On Studies in General History and the History of Civilization," 1884, *Papers American Historical Association*, I (New York, 1886), 49-72.

in a sense false. It is also incidentally one way to court the destruction of all men.

The historians are not alone. Like them, twentieth-century diplomats, scientists, journalists, and novelists have all been trained by their education and conditioned by their societies to seek the different, to bring out the peculiarities, and to build their policies, their theses, and their stories upon these, not upon the likenesses among men. In their sometimes well-meaning, sometimes self-seeking efforts to foster their own countries' interests, to classify types scientifically, to gain popularity (or circulation) by catering to prejudice, and to bring out the novel or esoteric, they have nearly all overlooked the simple fact that men as individuals and men in groups are in many ways more alike than different.

In the nature of their trade diplomats act, as Robert Sherwood remarks in *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, not for men but for particular men.⁴ From Aristotle onward science has been, in part, the art of observing, distinguishing, and classifying phenomena—which in most cases means the establishment of convenient resemblances which *differentiate* specific objects from all other objects. Journalism, from its beginning, and especially since Hearst, has been the business of selling news, that is the odd or the new, and their customers have bought more papers when the superiority of their own peculiarities has been confirmed by comparison with others'. Novelists beginning with Fielding have delighted in depicting the national (not the common) character of men, becoming therefore not just novelists but English, French, or Russian novelists.⁵ In all fields of writing, with the possible exception of some in pure science, authors have usually attempted to describe their subjects not only in terms of properties within the subjects themselves but also as peculiar to a particular race, class, or nation. Since the eighteenth century few intellectuals have been able to see men as *man*. Even the apostles of Marxian internationalism have succumbed to nationalism. We may poke fun at the American schoolmarm who in France desperately desires her orange juice and Kohler plumbing. She is evincing the same provincialism on a superficial level as the social scientist on a deeper level who studies only the national mind, the national problems, and sees only these and not man.

Immediately it must be granted that differences exist among individuals and among societies. Immediately it must be admitted that differences of

⁴ Robert Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (New York, 1948), p. 796.

⁵ Professor Albert Guérard recently attacked the teaching of "English" rather than "literature" as narrow, provincial, and impossible because literature is world literature and related by other than national ideas. "The Quick and the Dead," "English or Literature," *Chap Book* (College English Association, n.d.).

culture based upon climate, physiology, class, nation, and possibly race warrant all manner of intensive scientific research. The study of these, however, ought to be tempered by realization and study of similarities that are at least as important. *Homo sapiens* is a species!⁶ Within the species varieties occur. But as with the trees and forests the varieties ought not obscure the view. It is upon certain aspects of the common nature and common cultural development of the species that this essay is focused.

II

Someday new mutations may occur which break up the species. As yet man is a single species and there is no evidence that this kind of cleavage impends. This is true in spite of all the findings of the young sciences of man, psychology and anthropology, and of all the descriptions of men found in the older disciplines of history and political economy. It is true though the studies and writings of Galton, Binet, Frazer, Childe, Marx, Sombart, Kohn, and Hertz have been convincing in their conclusions about individual, tribal, class, and national differences.

Men vary; the study of their variations has given us important insights into man's actions. Nevertheless, we know little about the fundamental nature of man, not to speak of nations and races. There are few truly scientific studies. While there has been extended observation there has been little experimentation. There is, consequently, little real evidence that will serve for more than tentative hypotheses. What we have of positive nature on national and racial differences still does not go far beyond the random comments of such intelligent men as David Hume, the biased books of racialists like Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and the entertaining guesses of popular writers like Madariaga, Siegfried, and Demiahevich.⁷ What we *know* is largely of negative nature. What we ought to realize about all men in regard to nationality and race is what Professor Otto Klineberg and his collaborators concluded from their study of the Negro:

⁶ The best recent book dealing with the subject is William C. Boyd, *Genetics and the Races of Man* (Boston, 1950). See also G. G. Simpson, "The Principles of Classification and a Classification of the Mammals," *Bulletin American Museum of Natural History*, LXXXV (1945), 1-350. Proper classification has been a matter of vigorous dispute, often because of semantic difficulties, between some geneticists and some morphologists. Cf. Reginald R. Gates, *Human Ancestry* (Cambridge, 1948).

⁷ David Hume, "Of National Characters," in *Essays and Treatises . . .* (London, 1770), I; Arthur de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, trans. Collins (New York, 1915). Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Lees (London, 1913); Salvador Madariaga, *Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards: An Essay in Comparative Psychology* (London, 1928); André Siegfried, *America Comes of Age: A French Analysis*, trans. H. and D. Heming (New York, 1927) and his other books on France, England, New Zealand, and Latin America; Michael Demiahevich, *The National Mind: English, French, German* (New York, 1938). A survey of what little is known is Otto Klineberg, *Tensions Affecting International Understanding: A Survey of Research* (New York, 1950), pp. 1-92.

inherent differences between white and Negro may be found; our scientific methods of investigation have not yet revealed them or what they may signify.⁸

And yet we base our diplomacy and the shape of our future upon these alleged differences. We venture death because of diversities which may or may not exist. Our mental habits, nurtured by science and prejudice and dignified by Aristotelian logic as well as debased by ignorance, force us to stress unlikeness, and thence it is a short road to hate and destruction. Nowhere, save for a few rare scholars, poets, and philosophers, is there full recognition of what may be after all the plainest fact about men, that they are of man. The species may not long survive; certainly it will not if social scientists seeking the complete truth do not perceive the full importance of this fundamental fact.

What has been said about survival is also true if the species is to flourish. It is a truism (little recognized to be sure in contemporary Russia and the United States) that whatever "progress" men have achieved is the result of the common efforts of many men, nationalities, and races. Genius knows no national, racial, or any other boundary. Like imbecility it is uncommon in all groups, and at the same time common to all. When Russians or Americans claim a "first" they only reveal their naïveté. All inventions and discoveries are built upon previous ones and these in turn, as in the case of atomic energy, came from men of many nationalities and races located everywhere on the earth and living at least as long ago as the classic Greeks (Democritus).⁹ The simple electric light involved among others an Italian, an Englishman, a German, a Frenchman, and an American Middle Westerner—Volta, Watt, Ohm, Ampere, and Edison. What is true here is no less true, though much less recognized, of all ideas in literature, philosophy, of all knowledge in all the arts in all civilizations.

III

The outward likenesses, often overlooked because they are commonplace, are easy to see. All men walk upright, and, unlike most other vertebrates, normally use stairs instead of branches. Nine tenths of the mature members of the species measure four-feet-ten to six-feet-two in height, a relatively small difference if all vertical dimensions are considered.¹⁰ Nearly all men

⁸ Otto Klineberg, ed., *Characteristics of the American Negro* (New York, 1944).

⁹ See, for example, Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (student ed., New York, 1936) pp. 326-27; and Paul Radin, *The Racial Myth* (New York, 1937), pp. 80-81.

¹⁰ Alfred L. Kroeber, *Anthropology: Race, Language, Culture, Psychology, Prehistory* (rev. ed., New York, 1948), pp. 126-27, states that no race averages less than four feet ten inches and none more than five ten, while the majority of populations do not deviate more than two inches from the general average of five feet five inches.

as adults weigh from 90 to 220 pounds, a small range compared to the variations in animal life. All of them require daily, though they may not get them, from 2500 to 4000 calories and a certain variety of vitamins to be gained from meat, grains, green and leafy vegetables, and fruit. With few exceptions all of them have facility for manipulating their thumbs, and for conceptual thought and speech as no other animals do. More than any other living thing they can store up knowledge, establish traditions. They are not forced to start from scratch but can, though this is rare enough, begin with the accumulated experience and wisdom of the species. Unlike the dog and the ape, men may use (though they rarely do) the spoken word and books to avoid the mistakes of their ancestors and thus determine the direction of human evolution.¹¹ Though the opposite seems most often true, man is, to a greater degree than any other form of life, teachable.¹² He is at times, potentially at least, rational and the ranges of his comprehension and adaptability are wider. Men, it also seems, are singular in that they can modify what were once termed their "instincts," and may, without artificial conditioning, acquire neuroses. At the same time only they find escape in laughter and tears.

Precisely because men are of man and share one planet, they everywhere face the same basic problems, those concerned with food and shelter as well as those involving social relationships and creativity in the arts. Nearly all of man's food, however refined, comes from the soil and seldom has there been too much of either land or edibles. Always shelter is needed against the rain or the sun, the heat or the cold, and seldom have the caves or the houses been plentiful. Because men are gregarious they have always had to seek how best to live together and their social problems remain basically as the *Republic* and the *Politics* stated them, freedom or authority, justice or injustice. While there are many levels of culture, man's arts have always faced similar dilemmas: material usefulness or propitiation of the gods, truth or beauty, realism or escape.

Again, though there be arctic and torrid zone, hill and valley, the ranges of climate and geography which surround men are relatively narrow. Ellsworth Huntington's books which reveal so marvelously how geography and climate condition civilizations are valuable,¹³ but, in spite of his bad

¹¹ This may only be a hope. It was John Stuart Mill's belief, "Liberty," in *Utilitarianism, Liberty, Representative Government* (Everyman's ed.), p. 82; and is authoritatively maintained as a possibility by George Gaylord Simpson, *The Meaning of Evolution* (New Haven, 1949). Of course, as Professor Simpson remarks, "This awesome power includes the human prerogative of self-extinction" (p. 328).

¹² Linton, pp. 132 ff., summarizes some of the common characteristics.

¹³ Especially his *Civilization and Climate* (3d ed., New Haven, 1924), and *Mainsprings of Civilization* (New York, 1945).

astronomy, Comenius was as near the truth when he wrote, "The same sky covers us, the same sun and all the stars revolve about us, and light us in turn."¹⁴ It is not the heat and the cold, the hills and the valleys which divide men. "Nature begins and ends everywhere and nowhere."¹⁵ Only men set up the barriers which divide them, and this in itself is a common and peculiar disposition of man.

Men would appear to the proverbial interspatial invader, perhaps arriving these days in flying saucers from Venus, to be scarcely distinguishable from each other. Missing the tenuous distinctions set up by men themselves, he would probably think of them as one rather unimportant type of life. He would be right. Compared to a rotifer they are huge, to a whale small, to a star infinitesimal. In terms of simple magnitude they are midway between the largest material body, the giant red star, and the smallest, the electron—"the mean between macrocosm and microcosm."¹⁶ Their likeness, then, appears readily in their differences from other forms of matter. And if the invader turned to their spiritual nature he would perceive that everywhere on the Earth, in the words of Abdala the Saracen as reported by Pico,¹⁷ "There is nothing to be seen more wonderful than man," and in the phrase of Innocent III, "Nothing more miserable."

Again, it must be reiterated, great differences exist. The moron is not a genius. An Englishman is not a Chinese. A Comanche is not a Nordic. In the total picture perspective is nevertheless absent when these differences are given first importance. Shylock was a Jew with the "same eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions" as other men and he was "fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter" as other men.¹⁸ The level or complexity of men's cultures condition them and influence their habits and their outlooks. But the cultures are all human, men are of man, and the earth is common to all. The more closely one examines the evidence or the lack of it, the more clearly this becomes evident.

IV

Men are all vertebrates and mammals. They are all multicellular animals with the same kinds of nervous, blood, respiratory, and reproductive systems.¹⁹

¹⁴ Quoted in Julian Huxley and A. C. Haddon, *We Europeans* (Oxford, 1940), p. 3.

¹⁵ Walter Sulzbach, *National Consciousness* (Washington, 1943), p. 52.

¹⁶ Lincoln Barnett, *The Universe of Dr. Einstein* (New York, 1948), pp. 14-15.

¹⁷ "Oration on the Dignity of Man," in Ernst Cassirer, Paul Kristeller, and John Herman Randall, eds., *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 219, 223.

¹⁸ *Merchant of Venice*, Act III, sc. i.

¹⁹ For the facts in this paragraph the writer has relied upon, in addition to the works of

The same approximate percentages of chemical elements make up their bodies. So long as there are males and females reproduction between all varieties is possible, even probable. Their females all carry their young nine months and usually produce only one offspring at a time. Maturation for all offspring is comparatively slow. Unlike all other animals the desire of their adults for sexual activity is continuous: the adult male is normally capable of reproducing at any time and the adult female of about fifteen to forty-five years of age twelve times a year. Probably none of them, Lysenko notwithstanding, can inherit acquired characteristics. All of them, regardless of race or nationality, have the same few O, A, B, and AB blood types. Though learned studies use terms like brachiocephalic and dolichocephalic their head shapes vary little, all being somewhat oblong. While their hair is round or oblong and straight or kinky, it is hair, and all usually have it in slightly varying intensities at the same points on their bodies. Their coloration runs from white to black but all gradations exist, while microscopic examination shows but slight differences in pigmentation and even these differences seem rapidly to be fading.

Where differences occur, little is known of what they signify. On the basis of fact no one can say whether color, hair, head shape, or blood type have any relationship to the quality of a man, to his character, philosophy, and intelligence, or to how he will react in any circumstance. Observable differences like these may be easily classified and the classifications statistically presented in impressive, encyclopedic volumes. That is all. These particular differences occur. Nothing more can be added, no more meaning can be attached to them.

In intelligence, to be sure, the gap between moron and genius may be as wide as Galton's studies and Binet's tests have shown. But both occur in all national groupings, and the gap between them is not as wide as between man, moron or genius, and other forms of life. All men above the imbecilic seem to have greater facility, though they may not use it, for reflective intelligence than do the smartest chimpanzees. On the other hand all are a bit short of omniscient gods. Further, it is impossible to disentangle the environmental factors in the formation of intelligence. No one knows to what extent intelligence is a product of a good diet and to what extent it is a part of the inherited physiological structure of the individual.²⁰ Nor does

Boyd, Kroeber, and Linton cited above, Julian Huxley, *Man Stands Alone* (New York, 1941); Ruth Benedict, *Race: Science and Politics* (New York, 1940); Franz Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life*; and Melville Herskovits, *Man and His Works: The Science of Cultural Anthropology* (New York, 1949).

²⁰ For what is known concerning diet in relation to individual and national behavior, see

anyone know whether any particular kinds of intelligence are universally superior. In some primitive forest situations, in contemporary American college football, or in modern warfare, success most likely comes to the physically well-co-ordinated individual whom the imaginative poet might rightly consider dull and insensitive. As with intelligence so with emotions. All human creatures have the capacity for love, hate, and anger. While the depths and heights of their natures differ, capacity is common to all. The potential range and depth is greater in man than in any other animal, and which capacity is best in each situation has not been determined.

Since Darwin men's differences have been transformed into a sliding scale for moral evaluation, a scale which somehow indicates inferiority and superiority.²¹ During the latter half of the nineteenth century men calling themselves scientists, though their interpretation of "survival of the fittest" was certainly erroneous, first erected complex classifications of human characteristics with the clear purpose of showing how much fitter and therefore better were some groups of men than others. Their reasoning (read Houston Stewart Chamberlain or Madison Grant for the popular versions)²² went something like this: (1) men are naturally different as is proved by their observable physical and mental traits; (2) some are naturally fitter, hence superior; (3) some races and nations are naturally fittest and therefore superior; and (4) nature and evolution made men this way and hence some races and nations should be masters and others servants. With this structure of illogic, differences became the ideological basis of social action. And further to prove superiority, the significance of the obvious differences has been deepened and new distinctions are fanatically sought.

No intelligent man who knows anything of science and methods of scientific research need be told of the absurdity of this unreason. Though able scholars like Julian Huxley, Franz Boas, Ashley Montagu, and Ruth Benedict²³ have torn away the fabric of prejudice to reveal the few known facts, the fallacies persist and must be attacked again and again. Men as

Huntington, *Mainsprings of Civilization*, pp. 417-31; Sir Robert McCarrison "Nutrition and National Health," *Journal Royal Society of Arts*, LXXXIV (Aug. 28, Sept. 4, 11, 1936); Sir. John Orr, *Food, Health, and Income* (London, 1936). On the interplay of biology and culture in intelligence see Norman Cameron, *The Psychology of Behavior Disorders: A Biosocial Interpretation* (Boston, 1947).

²¹ Among the many advocates of this view were: Walter Bagehot, *Physics and Politics* (New York, 1881, first published 1869); Henry Hauser, *Le principe des nationalités, ses origines* (Paris, 1916), pp. 12-13; Karl Pearson, *National Life from the Standpoint of Science* (London, 1901); and a long list of German writers of whom Heinrich von Treitschke, especially in his *Politics* (London, 1916), is outstanding.

²² Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History* (New York, 1916). A half hundred other works could be easily cited. For the United States see Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism* (Philadelphia, 1944).

²³ See their works cited above.

individuals differ widely. That men differ does not indicate inferiority or superiority. If it did, that would not show that nations and races either differ or are inferior or superior. If some races and nations were superior that might not be owing to nature but to chance, cultural environment, and historical development.

Who are the "fittest," the little, wiry men who formed the bulk of Rommel's North African army, the giants who play American football and basketball, the pale, bespectacled, physical scientists in the laboratories, the emaciated saints of the Middle Ages who surely went to Heaven soonest, or that "cream" of contemporary Western nations, the steel-nerved navigators and pilots of the long-range bombing planes? If it be agreed that the last are today's fittest, does it follow that their respective races or nations are? Are races and nations fittest just because they can destroy other races and nations most efficiently? Does, finally, fitness indicate anything about superiority unless certain prejudices are accepted as absolute values? Does, indeed, survival indicate anything but luck? The survivors in the next war, as in those of the past, will very likely be those who survive—nothing more.

Let us assume, however, that some nations survive and are therefore superior. There is no evidence to prove that this superiority, or any other, is natural. Rather what little knowledge we have reveals that the physical environment and cultural level of the society into which a man is born are at least as determinant in individual development as the gene and chromosome.²⁴ The younger Mill was not far wrong when he wrote, "Of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing diversities of character to inherent natural differences."²⁵

V

What has been said above of the physiological diversities among men can be applied with greater force to the differences among the so-called races.²⁶ We know that intelligence, emotional capacity, and bodily structure and size

²⁴ The genetic and cultural, so far as present knowledge goes, cannot be disentangled. Cameron, *Psychology of Behavior Disorders*; Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945); Thomas Hunt Morgan, *Evolution and Genetics* (Princeton, 1925), p. 207; and especially Huxley, *Man Stands Alone*, pp. 111-12.

²⁵ John Stuart Mill, *The Principles of Political Economy* (London, 1849), I, 390.

²⁶ There is much confusion over the meaning of the word "race." See Earl W. Count, ed., *This Is Race* (New York, 1950), pp. xiii ff. A race, according to Professor Herskovits, "is a division of mankind, marked by physical characteristics which breed true" (*Man and His Works*, p. 133). In addition to the books cited in note 19 see, Herbert J. Fleure, *The Peoples of Europe* (London, 1922); Earnest Albert Hooton, *Up from the Ape* (2d ed., New York, 1946), and William W. Howells, *Mankind So Far* (New York, 1944).

vary widely *within* each race.²⁷ We also have solid grounds for believing that so far as we are able to measure these characteristics as well as other less obvious ones, they differ more widely within each race than they do from race to race. In all human characteristics there is overlapping among all races; the alleged differences are chiefly in statistical averages which hide the basic similarities.

That intelligent men should base any serious argument concerning men upon race is as absurd as to base diplomacy upon the consideration that one man likes his cottage cheese with garlic and another with onion.²⁸ As everyone who reads can know, all races have ceaselessly intermixed and have become so "impure" that almost all the peculiarities of any importance ascribed to membership in these groupings are the fabrication of wish fancy.²⁹ Ralph Linton, the anthropologist, neatly put it: "There is no human group whose ancestry is known for even five generations in the exact terms necessary for racial determinations."³⁰

In his zeal to make Christians out of heathens Paul preached that God "made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." His real converts at Athens may not have been many; his biology and sociology were good. Race usually cannot be distinguished because of visible, physical signs such as size, shape, or even color. Much less can it be determined by character and intelligence or any of the more esoteric classifications of dissimilarities. Conceivably, fundamental differences may be discovered. Our present scientific tools do not reveal them—even between "Slavic" Russians and "Anglo-Saxon" Americans. One may be able to tell something about a man by his shoes or by his color. One can tell something about his shoes and his color. The French children of the Third Republic, like the German children of the Third Reich, were told that their ancestors "were very tall, their eyes blue, and their hair was blond."³¹ The only known fact is that no one can know *who his* ancestors were nor can any group determine them with any exactitude except that they were men and before that—.

²⁷ "The evidence . . . demonstrates that every large human group . . . runs very close to the gamut of human capability. . . ." Herskovits, p. 149.

²⁸ And probably can only be characterized as the "art of exploiting a prejudice for an ulterior purpose." George Sabine, *A History of Political Theory* (New York, 1950), p. 889.

²⁹ See, for example, the descriptions of English mixtures in Jacquetta and Christopher Hawkes, "Land and People," in Ernest Barker, ed., *The Character of England* (Oxford, 1947); and John Oakesmith, *Race and Nationality: An Inquiry into the Origins of Patriotism* (New York, 1919), pp. 95-100. What is true of "Anglo-Saxon" England is true of all peoples. For Europe, see Huxley and Haddon, *We Europeans*, p. 221. Very probably no pure race ever existed.

³⁰ Linton, *Study of Man*, pp. 36-37.

³¹ Quoted by François Delaisi, *Political Myths and Economic Realities* (New York, 1927), p. 186.

Few if any of the so-called racial characteristics tell anything of importance about *a man*. Men have been encyclopedically catalogued as to hair form and color, skin pigmentation, eye color and shape, stature, head form, size and structure of bones, and the way the head sits on the shoulders. What does this all mean? Simply that in these specific physical ways individual men vary and for this or that group there is a slightly different mean or average or deviation for each of the *particular* physical parts of the body. To ascribe greater weight to these differences than this would be as wrong as to assert that all men are exactly alike because all their bodily temperatures average around 98.6 degrees.

Systematic theories of racial differences are of recent origin,³² dating back for the most part only to the eighteenth century when it was becoming more important to be superior and powerful than to go to Heaven. The theories (they are only that by the grace of inaccurate terminology) have varied widely in time and often with the race or nationality of the investigator. Moreover, racial characters, if they exist, seem to have changed quite unbelievably through the years. Once ("Nordic") England was called "merry" but that was not the England of Attlee and Cripps. Once a Venetian ambassador spoke of the "low morals and excellent cooking" of the English but that was in the sixteenth not the nineteenth century.³³ In praising folly, Erasmus spoke of the martial reputation of the ("Mediterranean") Spaniards,³⁴ a characteristic few would accuse them of possessing in our times. Once what we call the northern Europeans ("Nordics?") were supposed to be "full of spirit" but unintelligent (Aristotle);³⁵ the modern version is quite different. None of this proves that theories based upon race are completely untrue. It shows only that there is nothing scientific or God-given about them and that they are for the most part merely *a priori* guesses of men about other men.

The fallacies based upon racial interpretation of human societies may be slowly crumbling. Those pertaining to nationalism still cling as tenaciously as only prejudices can. The human race seems united on a common desire to destroy itself and nationalism happens to be one of the most popular, contemporary methods.

³² Jacques Barzun, *Race: A Study in Modern Superstition* (New York, 1937), pp. 51-52; Louis L. Snyder, *A History of Modern Ethnic Theories* (New York, 1944); Kroeber, *Anthropology*, pp. 141 ff.

³³ Barker, *Character of England*, p. 558.

³⁴ Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*, trans. Hoyt Hudson (Princeton, 1941), p. 61.

³⁵ Aristotle, *The Politics*, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1932), VII, vi, 1-3.

VI

For the present purposes nationalism may be defined as a sentiment of unity held by a social group, a sentiment based upon an apparent common, cultural heritage and upon a desire to live separately and independently as a group in the future.³⁶ This sentiment of unity at the same time is a sentiment of exclusiveness, and members of nations generally feel indifferent or hostile to members of other like nations. Both the unity and the exclusiveness are founded upon real or imagined differences between national groups. If the people of a group has a common past (and historians may give them one if they do not) of language, race, religion, if it has its own historically claimed rocks and rills and "natural" boundaries, in short, if its members have a common culture and a common geographic location, then its language, race, religion, and rocks and rills are held to be different from, and by a long jump in logic better and more beautiful than, those of other like groups. The well-developed nationalist asserts, "My country, right or wrong," or *Deutschland über Alles*. "A true nationalist," declared the *Action française*, which in the French Third Republic was no minor authority, is one who "places the fatherland above everything."³⁷ What the nationalist does not understand is what Schiller taught: That every "remarkable occurrence" that happens "to men" is of importance to *men*.³⁸ Denying Bentham's axioms about self-interest seeking the happiness of the greatest number, he believes his own self-interest to lie in development of his own nation's peculiar interests, in its gaining power and prestige at the expense of other like groups.³⁹

Of course, there is no more natural basis for the nationalistic interpretation of man and his relationships than there is for prejudices concerning race. No one can know, as Herder thought he knew,⁴⁰ that God created different nationalities just as he did different flowers and plants. Every nationality is a mixture of many peoples, races, tribes, families. The modern French are

³⁶ The books on nationalism are many and greatly varying in quality. Among the best in English, French, and German are those by Hauser, Hayes, Johannet, Hertz, Kohn, Meinecke, Mitscherlich, and the Royal Institute of International Affairs. But see Koppel Pinson, *A Bibliographical Introduction to Nationalism* (New York, 1935).

³⁷ Quoted by William Curt Buthman, *The Rise of Integral Nationalism, with Special Reference to the Ideas and Activities of Charles Maurras* (New York, 1939), p. 291.

³⁸ J. Holland Rose, *Nationality in Modern History* (New York, 1916), p. 39.

³⁹ Bentham quoted Fenelon approvingly, "I prefer my family to myself, my country to my family, and the human race to my country." "Principles of Penal Law," *Works*, ed. John Bowring (Edinburgh, 1843), I, 563. He looked forward to a "period when the moral code, grounded on the greatest-happiness principle, will be the code of nations, teaching them in their vast political concerns, to create no useless misery and to make their patriotism subservient to the demands of benevolence." Hans Kohn, *Prophets and Peoples* (New York, 1946), p. 18.

⁴⁰ Robert Ergang, *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism* (New York, 1931), pp. 97-100.

in origin of the Mediterranean, Alpine, Nordic, and a good many other "races." The modern Italians are compounded of Etruscans, Ligurians, Romans, Iberians, Greeks, Gauls, Teutons, and in recent times almost every nationality in Europe and some in Africa. Nor are the Germans, Russians, or Americans any purer.

All modern history is a document attesting to national intermixture: migrations, invasions, wars, conquests, marriages. In various degrees every nationality is a conglomeration of the short and tall, the round and the long headed, the dumb and the smart, the virtuous and the sinful. Any one of these characteristics is singular to no nationality, and among all nationalities the characteristics are endlessly duplicated. In fact the attempt to classify nations according to any biological or inherent mental characteristic is only a naïve error inherited from early propagandist historians like Tacitus and pseudo-anthropologists like Gobineau. Defoe could have been speaking of any nationality with his

Thus from a mixture of all kinds began
That heterogeneous thing, an Englishman.⁴¹

How little we know about national biological traits becomes clear when we consider that no nationality in Europe or America has individuals so different that they, given the same clothes, cannot easily be taken for members of any of several other nationalities. In Europe, as elsewhere, the so-called national physical characteristics do not correspond with boundary lines, with race, or even clearly with language.⁴² In fact they exist only as vague and almost meaningless averages for particular physical features. Do Alsations have French or German bodies? How does the chemical content of the French body differ from that of the German? Can the German spermatozoa impregnate a French egg?

Nor is there any such thing as a constant or ever-present national character, unless it is invented by historians.⁴³ The national sentiment, in fact, is of recent origin and the nations themselves are not constant. A modern student of nationality, Bernard Joseph, claims that the Russian is "morose

⁴¹ *The True-Born Englishman*.

⁴² See, for example, the studies of Stanley Rundle, *Language as a Social and Political Factor in Europe* (London, 1946); and Geoffrey M. Morant, *The Races of Central Europe* (London, 1939).

⁴³ Hamilton Fyfe, "The Illusion of National Character," *Political Quarterly*, IX (1938), 254 ff.; Richard Müller-Freienfels, *Persönlichkeit und Weltanschauung* (Leipzig, 1919). Sir John Seeley's comment is pertinent: "No explanation is so vague, so cheap, and so difficult to verify." Thomas P. Peardon, "Sir John Seeley, Pragmatic Historian in a Nationalistic Age," in Earle, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, p. 291. But cf. Morris Ginsburg, *Reason and Unreason in Society* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 131-55.

and melancholy as the steppes of his country" while the Italian is "passionate and excitable" because he is "warmed by the sun."⁴⁴ Many Russians, especially those at conferences of foreign ministers, are "morose" and one part of Russia is "steppes." Many Italians are "excitable" and certainly the sun shines in Italy. But communists like crocodiles seem to know how to laugh and the sun shines now and then in Russia—especially, for example, in Stalin's Georgia. Leonardo da Vinci and Benedetto Croce, since they were sometimes calm and dispassionate, were of course not Italians. Only poetic license or intuition could connect steppes and sun with gloom and passion.

Of no nations has more of this kind of nonsense been written than of modern France and Germany. Possibly this is so because of the three wars since 1870 as well as because popular science during this period lent its weight to conflicting national interests. The Germans (including the Rhenish peoples?) are supposed to have a disciplined, military character; exactly the opposite of that they were supposed to possess during the early Napoleonic period. The French are thought of today as logical, cultivated (*fine*), pacifist lovers of freedom; exactly the opposite of what most Europeans considered them during the latter part of the Napoleonic era. What is German character, that of Goethe or Bismarck? What is French cultivation, that of Voltaire or Pétain?

This kind of fallacy, of course, grows not only out of bad history. The same error is committed by contemporary two-week tourists and society editors temporarily turned foreign correspondents who set out to confirm all their prejudices and to footnote with their profound platitudes all the horrible peculiarities everyone already, of course, knows about without having investigated. The French, to many contemporary Americans, are a penny-pinching, immoral (not to say licentious) people who have good wine, beautiful, scantily clad women, and a "mess in politics." The Germans to the same Americans are either agreeable, potbellied, kraut-eating, beer-drinking, and music-loving people, or more often during recent war years tall, ramrod-like, blond sadists who cruelly file out the gold fillings of their victims. There are Germans and Frenchmen who fit these stereotypes and Russians and Americans too. But how French logic and cultivation are combined with French licentiousness and "messy" politics is a French national secret and a universal secret as well. A picture of the tall, fierce Prussian soldier eating kraut is somehow unbelievable and did not appear even in Hollywood's colossal dramas or the more realistic shots of the Signal Corps during either Great War. And it happens more kraut is eaten in the

⁴⁴ Bernard Joseph, *Nationality: Its Nature and Problems* (London, 1929), p. 86.

United States than in any country while tall, fierce soldiers are highly desired and generally found in the armies of a good many countries.

Oliver Goldsmith's comment to a half-dozen patriotic Englishmen of the eighteenth century could be instructive even to modern social scientists.⁴⁵ He heard one of them declare "that the Dutch were a parcel of avaricious wretches; that the French a set of flattering sycophants; that the Germans were drunken sots and beastly gluttons; and the Spaniards proud, haughty and surly tyrants: but that, in bravery, generosity, clemency, and in every other virtue, the English excelled all the other world." Goldsmith's reply was, "for my own part, I should not have ventured to talk in such a peremptory strain, unless I had made the tour of Europe, and examined the manners of these several nations with great care and accuracy: that perhaps, a more impartial judge would not scruple to affirm that the Dutch were more frugal and industrious, the French more temperate and polite, the Germans more hardy and patient of labour and fatigue, and the Spaniards more staid and sedate, than the English; who, though undoubtedly brave and generous, were at the same time rash, headstrong and impetuous. . . ." But of course, Goldsmith lived in the eighteenth century which occasionally looked beyond national boundaries at man. And even then Goldsmith was asked why he stayed in England if he didn't like it.

The limited view of the nationalist stems from either blindness or vanity, probably both. As David Hume wrote in the eighteenth century, "The vulgar are apt to carry all national characters to extremes; and having once established it as a principle that any people are knavish, or cowardly, or ignorant, they will admit of no exception, but comprehend every individual under the same censure."⁴⁶

The faulty reasoning is simple to demonstrate, though its effects are tragic. A group, be it nation- or city-state, cannot be described, though many a wise theorist like Socrates or good modern historian like C. D. Burns has done so, as if it were a single man, an individual with very special qualities.⁴⁷ Reasoning by analogy is often helpful; it is never accurate. Does Gide, Pissarro, De Gaulle, or a Breton fisherman represent France? Does Mann, Kathe Kollwitz, Streicher, or a Moselle vineyardist stand for Germany? Every nationality has many, not just, as it is now popular to say of the Germans, two sides. Every nation has so many sides that it becomes almost impossible to classify any of them as exclusively or even primarily

⁴⁵ In Frederick Page, ed., *An Anthology of Patriotic Prose* (London, 1915), pp. 198-201.

⁴⁶ Hume, *Essays and Treatises*, I, 247.

⁴⁷ Cecil Delisle Burns, *Political Ideals: Their Nature and Development* (London, 1915), pp. 179-83. A summary of research on national stereotypes is in Klineberg, *Tensions Affecting International Understanding*, pp. 93-125.

national. Every nation is composed of individuals not stereotypes. When Thomas Mann has his *Deutschlin* announce, "The Russians have profundity but no form. And in the West they have form but no profundity. Only we Germans have both,"⁴⁸ one can only hope that the present "Field Marshal of Literature" is himself completely clear on the matter.

As with physical traits the mental and spiritual characteristics of the individuals in any one nation overlap those of individuals of other nations. Individuals within nations differ; at the same time they are much like individuals in other nations and the characteristics of any one nation are strangely enough found in individuals of other nations. If there are exclusive national traits, those English, French, and Spanish ones, for instance, so persuasively described by Madariaga, we still know so little about them that we cannot base any intelligent action upon them. "You can always tell an American by his shoes," goes an old tourist axiom. The point that you can't tell anything about *the* American usually escapes.

Languages have most often been thought to denote sharp differences between nations. No one can deny that languages are different, that one or another is better for any one purpose, or that their differences impede international understanding. But the old story about the American pointing at a French menu at five different places and getting *pois* five times has a point; language may even hide the fact that all men seem to dislike monotony. It is quite possible that the English language is best for novelists and German for scientists. It is also possible that were their languages the same the Russians and Americans might occasionally agree. Yet Fichte's dictum that the elasticity and precision of German made the German superior is precisely as unfounded as Bentham's fancy that English was superior because of its simplicity and force or Dostoevski's insistence that only the Russian could understand all humanity.⁴⁹ The fact is we don't know and probably can't know.

The superstructure of fantastic nonsense built upon the real differences in language might be dismissed by a hearty laugh were not its consequences so dangerous. The well-known English authority on early man, V. Gordon Childe, once pontificated, "The Nordics' superiority in physique fitted them to be vehicles of the superior [the Aryan] language."⁵⁰ In this short sentence only five fallacies appear: (1) the Nordics are not superior unless certain

⁴⁸ Thomas Mann, *Dr. Faustus* (New York, 1948), p. 123.

⁴⁹ Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, trans. Jones and Turnbull (Chicago, 1922), pp. 69-70; Jeremy Bentham, "Essay on Languages," *Works*, VIII, 310. On Dostoevski see the brilliant essay of Hans Kohn, "Russia: Dostoevsky," *Prophets and Peoples*, pp. 140-60. An interesting older (1614) example is R. Carew, "The Excellency of the English Tongue," in Page, p. 49.

⁵⁰ V. Gordon Childe, *The Aryans* (New York, 1926), pp. 211-12.

quite uncertain, arbitrary criteria are accepted; (2) the Aryan languages may be considered superior only in the same way; (3) a good many non-Nordics use an Aryan language and some Nordics use a non-Aryan language; (4) all languages, including one of the best developed of the Aryan family, the English, have had a tremendous influx of foreign words and phrases, and all languages are built upon older languages which in turn are built upon still others until each has a "medley of origins"; and (5) in many cases, as in France and England, peoples like the Bretons and Alsations and Welsh and Scots have had national languages forced upon them by conquerors, and now may want to go back to their old languages which they think are superior.

This is not all. National languages are of recent origin, dating back at most to late medieval times. They were generally, in western Europe where nationalism first arose, not regarded as the national languages until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Within any nation the nationals, as for instance the Swiss, may not speak the same language while in other nations people of diverse "races," as the American whites and Negroes, may speak the same language. At the same time nationals of separate nations may speak the same language as do the Spanish and most Latin-American peoples, or the English and the Americans. There is not, then, any exact correlation between language groups and nationalities, and language differences do not clearly divide nationalities.⁵¹

No objective criteria are available for the determination of superiority in language. All developed human languages, no matter how widely divergent, seem to be more alike than different, and have much more potential capacity for significant and specific meaning than do the sounds emitted by any other living thing. No matter how beautiful the language of Shakespeare or Goethe or Turgenev, there is no proof that language differences are of great importance except as barriers to understanding. The purely subjective and self-seeking fancies of nationalists like Fichte and Dostoevski are just that, fancies, and they are fancies apparently common to all nationalities.

If we know little of significance about physiological, racial, and language differences among nations, this does not prove that all nations are alike. That nations differ in many minor ways takes as much thought as to read "Lil' Abner." They are all and each the result of the myriad, cultural influences that have helped mold them in historical time, especially the last five hundred years of historical time. They differ, too, because their peoples have been

⁵¹ In central Europe, Morant points out, there is no relation between physical or racial characteristics and language; and Linton declares that language distributions everywhere "are only superficially related to those of any other elements of culture . . ." (*Study of Man*, p. 390).

trained and propagandized to feel and believe that they are peculiar, because, by way of illustration, their historians like Treitschke, Michelet, Green, and Bancroft have often provided each of them with a common history, at times quite out of whole cloth. But that they differ here or there does not mean that they are more different than they are alike.

The fundamental import of their real historical differences, except that they lead to war, we do not know. And the little we do know points to similarities both as striking and as important. Our little knowledge indeed reveals that nations most often differ precisely because they have conflicting aims for similar ends—prestige, power, and security.

Schiller sang, "What is the greatest of nations but a fragment?"—A fragment of humanity, one might add, which the Jew Jesus, the Frenchman Montesquieu, the German Goethe⁵² held to be above the arbitrary divisions into which petty patriots, narrow scholars, sadistic dictators, cheap journalists, and popular novelists have divided mankind.

VII

Men are physiologically, racially, nationally at least as much alike as they are different. That is not surprising. *Homo sapiens* is a species. The individuals of the species are not only much alike but so are their problems and their institutions. This is not so strange either. They have inhabited one globe in a comparatively short period of whatever is universal time. They all have had to provide for sustenance and protection against the elements. They have all had to seek the best circumstances for reproduction and the rearing of their children. They all have had a common desire for some kind of creative activity, for a "noble employment of their leisure" if not an "instinct for workmanship." Now they have the common problem of controlling science so that they may survive. As Lawrence K. Frank recently wrote, "all men, everywhere, face the same life tasks, share the same anxieties and perplexities, bereavements and tragedies, seek the same goals in their cultures."⁵³ And what is true now may have always been true. It has been the common error of men not to see this.

As men have set about to solve their similar problems, they have naturally evolved similar institutions.⁵⁴ The family with its ceremony of marriage is

⁵² For Montesquieu see Albert Sorel, *Montesquieu*, trans. M. and E. Anderson (Chicago, 1888), p. 52. On Goethe see Page, p. 103. The names of Bentham, J. S. Mill, Diderot, Helvetius, and Lessing could be cited also. Possibly the Stoics were among the first to believe all men brothers. Marcus Aurelius thought, "my nature is rational and social, and my city and country, so far as I am Antonius, is Rome, but so far as I am a man, it is the world." Whitney J. Oates, *The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers* (New York, 1940), p. xxiv.

⁵³ Lawrence K. Frank, *Society as the Patient: Essays on Culture and Personality* (New Brunswick, 1948), pp. 394-95.

⁵⁴ Herskovits, *Man and His Works*, p. 234; Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Scientific Theory of*

almost universal, though there may be plural husbands or plural wives and some societies are exogamous and some endogamous, and some are conjugal and some consanguine. Government, though there may be Aristotle's 158 varieties of constitutions of which some provide justice and others injustice, is common to all. A class system of some kind has evolved in all, even in Soviet Russia. A church with one or several heads to administer a religion that provides some kind of explanation of the unknown has always grown, though it may be mono- or polytheistic, anthropomorphic or supernatural. Since man in the plural is men and since men inhabit a common Earth, they have met common problems and erected common institutional answers. They are not, whatever they may have thought, so unlike each other, and their cultures have as much in common as in difference.

Of the individual differences among men, of their national and racial dissimilarities, the studies are many and some profound. What is chiefly wrong with them is that they are based upon partial observation. They are incomplete because they are so exclusively histories of nations and of national heroes, analyses of national problems, and descriptions of national institutions. All that is argued here is that the whole truth be sought, not just the national truth. If men are to survive and the species to flourish the historian must pay at least as much attention to the species as to its varieties. Men are, as Josiah Royce remarked, apparently all a little lower than the angels.⁵⁵ We can hope that they will remain a bit above other animals only if their experts write histories and make studies that go beyond the national stories and analyses, only if they see Germans, Russians, Chinese, Japanese, Englishmen, and Americans as part of a common breed called men. It may be that in their search for truth scholars will find differences not now apparent, and that these will lead to the extinction of man. Our present knowledge does not reveal these differences. Scholars who stress them to the exclusion of the known similarities do so at the expense of truth and to their own and mankind's great peril.⁵⁶

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Culture and Other Essays (Chapel Hill, 1944), p. 92; and G. P. Murdock, "The Common Denominator of Cultures," in Ralph Linton, ed., *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* (New York, 1945), pp. 124-33.

⁵⁵ Josiah Royce, *Race Questions, Provincialism, and Other American Problems* (New York, 1908), p. 53.

⁵⁶ The quite Newtonian opinion of an outstanding contemporary scientist, J. Robert Oppenheimer, about politics could apply to historians: "In politics the great actions and the great men are those that reveal the relations and the harmony between views, generalizations and ideals which superficially appear neither compatible nor relevant." Quoted by Lincoln Barnett, "J. Robert Oppenheimer," *Life*, Oct. 10, 1949, pp. 136-37. This was the attempt of Carl Becker for the philosophers in *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* (New Haven, 1932).

The Historian and Southern Negro Slavery

KENNETH M. STAMPP

A SURVEY of the literature dealing with southern Negro slavery reveals one fundamental problem that still remains unresolved. This is the problem of the biased historian. It is, of course, a universal historical problem—one that is not likely to be resolved as long as historians themselves are divided into scientific and so-called "subjectivist-presentist-relativist" schools.¹ These schools seem to agree that historians ought to strive for a maximum of intellectual detachment and ought not to engage in special pleading and pamphleteering. But whether they are entitled to pass moral judgments, whether they can overcome the subjective influences of their own backgrounds and environments, are still debatable questions—at least they are questions which are still being debated. Yet it must be said that so far as Negro slavery is concerned we are still waiting for the first scientific and completely objective study of the institution which is based upon no assumptions whose validity cannot be thoroughly proved. And as long as historians must select their evidence from a great mass of sources, as long as they attempt to organize and interpret their findings, the prospects are not very encouraging.

This does not mean that everyone who has written about slavery has had the *same* bias, or that some have not been more flagrantly biased than others, or more skillful than others in the use of the subtle innuendo. It most certainly does not imply that further efforts toward a clearer understanding of slavery are futile, or that we are not enormously indebted to the many scholars who have already engaged in research in this field. No student could begin to understand the complexities of the slave system without being thoroughly familiar with the findings and varying points of view of such historians as Ulrich B. Phillips, Herbert Aptheker, Lewis C. Gray, John Hope Franklin, Avery Craven, Carter G. Woodson, Frederic Bancroft, Charles S. Sydnor, John Spencer Bassett, and many others.

Among these scholars, the late Professor Phillips has unquestionably made the largest single contribution to our present understanding of southern slavery. It may be that his most durable monument will be the vast amount of new source material which he uncovered. But Phillips was also an unusually able and prolific writer. Measured only crudely in terms of sheer

¹ Chester McArthur Destler, "Some Observations on Contemporary Historical Thought," *American Historical Review*, LV (April, 1950), 503-29.

bulk, his numerous books and articles are impressive.² That, taken together with his substantial compilations of fresh factual information, his rare ability to combine scholarship with a fine literary style, and his point of view for which there has been a persistent affinity, explains the deep impression he has made. One needs only to sample the textbooks and monographic literature to appreciate the great influence of Professor Phillips' interpretations and methodology. A historian who recently attempted to evaluate Phillips' investigations of the slave-plantation system arrived at this conclusion: "So thorough was his work that, granted the same purpose, the same materials, and the same methods, his treatment . . . is unlikely to be altered in fundamental respects."³

"There is, however," this historian hastened to add, "nothing inevitable about his point of view or his technique." Rather, he contended that "a materially different version" would emerge when scholars with different points of view and different techniques subjected the slave system to a similarly intensive study.⁴ Indeed, he might have noted that a "materially different version" is already emerging. For the most notable additions to the bibliography of slavery during the past three decades have been those which have in some way altered Phillips' classic exposition of the slave regime. This revisionism is the product of new information discovered in both old and new sources, of new research techniques, and, to be sure, of different points of view and different assumptions. In recent years the subject has become less and less an emotional issue between scholarly descendants of the northern abolitionists and of the southern proslavery school. It may only be a sign of the effeteness of the new generation of scholars, but there is a tendency among them to recognize that it is at least conceivable that a colleague on the other side of the Mason and Dixon line could write something significant about slavery. For the new light that is constantly being shed upon the Old South's "peculiar institution" we are indebted to historians of both southern and northern origins—and of both the Negro and white races.

One of these revisionists has raised some searching questions about Phillips' methodology. Professor Richard Hofstadter has discovered a serious flaw in Phillips' sampling technique, which caused him to examine slavery and slaveholders on "types of plantations that were not at all representative of the common slaveholding unit." Phillips made considerable use of the case-study method, and he relied heavily upon the kinds of manuscript

² Phillips' findings and conclusions can be studied most conveniently in *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1918), and in *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929).

³ Richard Hofstadter, "U. B. Phillips and the Plantation Legend," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIX (April, 1944), 124.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 124.

records kept primarily by the more substantial planters. Therefore, Hofstadter concludes, "Insofar . . . as Phillips drew his picture of the Old South from plantations of more than 100 slaves [as he usually did], he was sampling about 10% of all the slaves and less than 1% of all the slaveholders."⁵ The lesser planters and small slaveholding farmers, who were far more typical, rarely kept diaries and formal records; hence they received considerably less attention from Phillips. The danger in generalizing about the whole regime from an unrepresentative sample is obvious enough.

Getting information about the slaves and masters on the smaller holdings is difficult, but it is nevertheless essential for a comprehensive understanding of the slave system. Professor Frank L. Owsley has already demonstrated the value of county records, court records, and census returns for this purpose.⁶ Phillips made only limited use of the evidence gathered by contemporary travelers, especially by Frederick Law Olmsted in whom he had little confidence. The traveler in the South who viewed slavery with an entirely open mind was rare indeed, but it does not necessarily follow that the only accurate reporters among them were those who viewed it sympathetically.

How the picture of slavery will be modified when life on the small plantations and farms has been adequately studied cannot be predicted with as much assurance as some may think. The evidence now available suggests conflicting tendencies. On these units there was very little absentee ownership, the proverbially harsh overseer was less frequently employed, and contacts between masters and slaves were often more numerous and intimate. Undoubtedly in many cases these conditions tended to make the treatment of the Negroes less harsh and the system less rigid. But it is also necessary to consider other tendencies, as well as the probability that the human factor makes generalization risky. Sometimes the material needs of the slaves were provided for more adequately on the larger plantations than they were on the smaller ones. Sometimes the lower educational and cultural level and the insecure social status of the small slaveholders had an unfavorable effect upon their racial attitudes. There are enough cases in the court records to make it clear that members of this group were, on occasion, capable of extreme cruelty toward their slaves. Nor can the factor of economic competition be overlooked. The lesser planters who were ambitious to rise in the social scale were, to phrase it cautiously, exposed to the temptation not to indulge their slaves while seeking their fortunes in competition with the

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-19.

⁶ Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late Ante-Bellum South," *Journal of Southern History*, VI (February, 1940), 24-45. Much information about the treatment of slaves on the small plantations and farms can be found in Helen T. Caterall, ed., *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (5 vols., New York, 1926-37).

larger planters. To be sure, as Lewis C. Gray points out, many of these small slaveholders lived in relatively isolated areas where the competitive factor was less urgent.⁷ But there still is a need for further investigation of these small slaveholders before generalizations about conditions among their slaves will cease to be highly speculative.

A tendency toward loose and glib generalizing is, in fact, one of the chief faults of the classic portrayal of the slave regime—and, incidentally, of some of its critics as well. This is true of descriptions of how the slaves were treated: how long and hard they were worked, how severely they were punished, how well they were fed, housed, and clothed, and how carefully they were attended during illness. It may be that some historians have attached an undue significance to these questions, for there are important philosophical implications in the evaluation of slavery in terms of such mundane matters as what went into the slave's stomach. In any event, the evidence hardly warrants the sweeping pictures of uniform physical comfort or uniform physical misery that are sometimes drawn. The only generalization that can be made with relative confidence is that some masters were harsh and frugal, others were mild and generous, and the rest ran the whole gamut in between. And even this generalization may need qualification, for it is altogether likely that the same master could have been harsh and frugal on some occasions and mild and generous on others. Some men become increasingly mellow and others increasingly irascible with advancing years. Some masters were more generous, or less frugal, in times of economic prosperity than they were in times of economic depression. The treatment of the slaves probably varied with the state of the master's health, with the vicissitudes of his domestic relations, and with the immediate or subsequent impact of alcoholic beverages upon his personality. It would also be logical to suspect—and there is evidence that this was the case—that masters did not treat all their slaves alike, that, being human, they developed personal animosities for some and personal affections for others. The care of slaves under the supervision of overseers might change from year to year as one overseer replaced another in the normally rapid turnover. In short, the human factor introduced a variable that defied generalization.

This same human factor complicates the question of how the Negroes reacted to their bondage. The generalization that the great majority of Negroes were contented as slaves has never been proved, and in the classic picture it was premised on the assumption that certain racial traits caused them to adapt to the system with peculiar ease. If freedom was so far beyond

⁷ Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Washington, 1933), I, 518, 556–57.

their comprehension, it was a little remarkable that freedom was the very reward considered most suitable for a slave who rendered some extraordinary service to his master or to the state. It is well known that many slaves took advantage of opportunities to purchase their freedom. Resistance by running away and by the damaging of crops and tools occurred frequently enough to cause Dr. Samuel Cartwright of Louisiana to conclude that these acts were the symptoms of exotic diseases peculiar to Negroes.⁸ Though there is no way to discover precisely how much of the property damage was deliberate, and how much was merely the by-product of indifference and carelessness, the distinction is perhaps inconsequential. Finally, there were individual acts of violence against masters and overseers, and cases of conspiracy and rebellion. If the significance of these cases has been overstated by Herbert Aptheker,⁹ it has been understated by many of his predecessors.

This is not to deny that among the slaves only a minority of undeterminable size fought the system by these various devices. It is simply to give proper emphasis to the fact that such a minority did exist. In all probability it consisted primarily of individuals of exceptional daring, or intelligence, or individuality. Such individuals constitute a minority in all societies.

That the majority of Negroes seemed to submit to their bondage proves neither their special fitness for it nor their contentment with it. It merely proves that men *can* be enslaved when they are kept illiterate, when communication is restricted, and when the instruments of violence are monopolized by the state and the master class.¹⁰ In the light of twentieth-century experience, when white men have also been forced to submit to tyranny and virtual slavery, it would appear to be a little preposterous to generalize about the peculiarities of Negroes in this respect. In both cases the majority has acquiesced. In neither case does it necessarily follow that they have reveled in their bondage.

To be sure, there were plenty of opportunists among the Negroes who played the role assigned to them, acted the clown, and curried the favor of their masters in order to win the maximum rewards within the system, sometimes even at the expense of their fellow slaves. There were others who, in the very human search for personal recognition within their limited social orbit, salvaged what prestige they could from the high sales prices

⁸ Raymond A. and Alice H. Bauer, "Day to Day Resistance to Slavery," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXVII (October, 1942), 388-419. For references to some of Dr. Cartwright's unique views see Felice Swados, "Negro Health on the Ante Bellum Plantations," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, X (October, 1941), 462.

⁹ Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York, 1943). Many acts of violence by individual slaves are recorded in Caterall, *passim*.

¹⁰ The techniques of Negro enslavement are described in Aptheker, pp. 53-78.

attached to them, or from the high social status of their masters.¹¹ Nor is it necessary to deny that many slaves sang and danced, enjoyed their holidays, and were adaptable enough to find a measure of happiness in their daily lives. It is enough to note that all of this still proves nothing, except that it is altogether likely that Negroes behaved much as people of other races would have behaved under similar circumstances.

In describing these various types of slave behavior historians must always weigh carefully, or at least recognize, the moral implications and value judgments implicit in the adjectives they use. How, for example, does one distinguish a "good" Negro from a "bad" Negro in the slave regime? Was the "good" Negro the one who was courteous and loyal to his master, and who did his work faithfully and cheerfully? Or was the "good" Negro the defiant one who has sometimes been called "insolent" or "surly" or "unruly"? Was the "brighter" side of slavery to be found in the bonds of love and loyalty that developed between some household servants and some of the more genteel and gentle masters? Or was it to be found among those slaves who would not submit, who fought back, ran away, faked illness, loafed, sabotaged, and never ceased longing for freedom in spite of the heavy odds against them? In short, just what *are* the proper ethical standards for identifying undesirable or even criminal behavior among slaves? There is no answer that is not based upon subjective factors, and the question therefore may not be within the province of "objective" historians. But in that case historians must also avoid the use of morally weighted adjectives when they write about slavery.

The general subject of slave behavior suggests a method of studying the institution which revisionists need to exploit more fully. For proper balance and perspective slavery must be viewed through the eyes of the Negro as well as through the eyes of the white master.¹² This is obviously a difficult task, for slaves rarely wrote letters or kept diaries.¹³ But significant clues can be found in scattered sources. The autobiographies and recollections of fugitive slaves and freedmen have value when used with the caution required of all such sources. Slaves were interviewed by a few travelers in the ante-bellum South, and ex-slaves by a few historians in the post-Civil War period;¹⁴ but

¹¹ Historians who failed to grasp the psychological significance of such slave behavior have sometimes drawn some unjustifiable inferences from it, for example, that Negroes were naturally docile and felt no personal humiliation because of their inferior status.

¹² John Hope Franklin makes a brief attempt to accomplish this in *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1948), pp. 204-12.

¹³ Cf. Carter G. Woodson, ed., *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written during the Crisis, 1800-1860* (Washington, 1926).

¹⁴ See, for example, Harrison A. Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865* (Baltimore, 1914), *passim*.

unfortunately the interviewing was never done systematically until the attempt of the Federal Writers Project in the 1930's.¹⁵ The mind of the slave can also be studied through his external behavior as it is described in plantation manuscripts, court records, and newspaper files. For example, there is undoubtedly some psychological significance in the high frequency of stuttering and of what was loosely called a "downcast look" among the slaves identified in the advertisements for fugitives.¹⁶ Finally, the historian might find clues to the mental processes of the slaves in the many recent sociological and anthropological studies of the American Negro. The impact of nineteenth-century slavery and of twentieth-century prejudice and discrimination upon the Negro's thought and behavior patterns have some significant similarities.¹⁷

This kind of perspective is not to be found in the Phillips version of slavery, for he began with a basic assumption which gave a different direction to his writings. That he failed to view the institution through the eyes of the Negro, that he emphasized its mild and humorous side and minimized its grosser aspects, was the result of his belief—implicit always and stated explicitly more than once—in the inherent inferiority of the Negro race. The slaves, he wrote, were "by racial quality" "submissive," "light-hearted," "amiable," "ingratiating," and "imitative." Removing the Negro from Africa to America, he added, "had little more effect upon his temperament than upon his complexion." Hence "the progress of the generality [of slaves] was restricted by the fact of their being negroes."¹⁸ Having isolated and identified these "racial qualities," Phillips' conclusions about slavery followed logically enough.

It is clear in every line Phillips wrote that he felt no animus toward the Negroes. Far from it. He looked upon them with feelings of genuine kindness and affection. But hearing as he did the still-faintly-ringing laughter of the simple plantation Negroes, the songs sung in their melodious voices, Phillips was unable to take them seriously. Instead he viewed them as lovable, "serio-comic" figures who provided not only a labor supply of sorts but also much of the plantation's social charm. Thus slavery was hardly an institution that could have weighed heavily upon them.

Now, it is probably true that the historian who criticizes slavery per se

¹⁵ Selections from these interviews are published in Benjamin A. Botkin, ed., *Lay My Burden Down* (Chicago, 1945).

¹⁶ The present writer was impressed by this while searching through thousands of advertisements for fugitive slaves in various southern newspapers.

¹⁷ Especially suggestive is Robert L. Sutherland, *Color, Class, and Personality* (Washington, 1942).

¹⁸ *American Negro Slavery*, pp. 291-92, 339, 341-42.

reveals a subjective bias, or at least certain assumptions he cannot prove. The sociological argument of George Fitzhugh that slavery is a positive good, not only for the laboring man but for society in general, cannot be conclusively refuted with scientific precision. Those who disagree with Fitzhugh can only argue from certain unproved premises and optimistic convictions about the so-called "rights" and "dignity" of labor and the potentialities of free men in a democratic society. And the historian may run into all sorts of difficulties when he deals with such subjective matters.

But to assume that the *Negro* was peculiarly suited for slavery because of certain inherent racial traits is quite another matter. This involves not primarily a subjective bias but ignorance of, or disregard for, the overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Much of this evidence was already available to Phillips, though it must be noted that he grew up at a time when the imperialist doctrine of the "white man's burden" and the writings of such men as John Fiske and John W. Burgess were giving added strength to the belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority. Nor should he be blamed for failing to anticipate the findings of biologists, psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists subsequent to the publication of his volume *American Negro Slavery* in 1918. It may be significant that he presented his own point of view with considerably more restraint in his *Life and Labor in the Old South* which appeared a decade later.

Nevertheless, it is this point of view which both dates and outdates the Phillips version of slavery. No historian of the institution can be taken seriously any longer unless he begins with the knowledge that there is no valid evidence that the Negro race is innately inferior to the white, and that there is growing evidence that both races have approximately the same potentialities.¹⁹ He must also take into account the equally important fact that there are tremendous variations in the capacities and personalities of individuals within each race, and that it is therefore impossible to make valid generalizations about races as such.

An awareness of these facts is forcing the revisionists to discard much of the folklore about Negroes that found a support in the classic portrayal of slavery. Take, for example, the idea that the primitive Negroes brought to America could only adapt to the culture of the civilized white man in the course of many generations of gradual growth. Phillips saw the plantation as "a school constantly training and controlling pupils who were in a backward state of civilization. . . . On the whole the plantations were the

¹⁹ For a summary of the evidence and literature on this subject see Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York, 1944), esp. chap. vi, including the footnotes to this chapter, pp. 1212-18.

best schools yet invented for the mass training of that sort of inert and backward people which the bulk of the American negroes represented.”²⁰

This idea would seem to imply that the Negroes could only be civilized through a slow evolutionary process, during which they would gradually acquire and transmit to their descendants the white man's patterns of social behavior. In actual fact the first generation of Negroes born in the English colonies in the seventeenth century was as capable of learning these patterns of social behavior—for they were things that were learned, not inherited—and of growing up and living as free men as was the generation alive in 1865. Indeed many of the Negroes of this Civil War generation were *still* unprepared for freedom; and that fact reveals the basic flaw in the whole Phillips concept. It does not show that the plantation school had not had sufficient time to complete its work but rather that it was capable of doing little more than training succeeding generations of slaves. After two centuries of slavery most Negroes had to learn how to live as free men by *starting* to live as free men. The plantation school may have had some limited success as a vocational institution, but in the field of the social sciences it was almost a total failure.

Other discredited aspects of the mythology of slavery can be mentioned only briefly. Revisionists no longer attempt to explain the origin of the institution with a doctrine of “climatic determinism.” Since white men did and still do labor long and hard in cotton and tobacco fields there is little point in tracing southern slavery to the generative powers of southern heat.²¹ Nor does it appear that the health of Negroes in the fever-infested rice swamps was as flourishing as it has sometimes been described.²² And the fact that unfree labor alone made possible the rise of the plantation system proves neither the “necessity” nor the “inevitability” of slavery. For there was nothing inevitable about the plantation. Without this supply of unfree labor southern agriculture would probably have given less emphasis to the production of staples, and the small-farm unit would have prevailed. But the South would not have remained a wilderness. Moreover, Negroes *might* have been brought to America as servants rather than slaves (as the first ones were). Thus, like the white servants, many of them might have become landowning farmers in the period when land was abundant and cheap.

²⁰ *American Negro Slavery*, pp. 342–43.

²¹ Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, “Origins of the Southern Labor System,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, VII (April, 1950), 199.

²² Swados, pp. 460–72; J. H. Easterby, ed., *The South Carolina Rice Plantation as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston* (Chicago, 1945), p. 30; Bennett H. Wall, “Medical Care of Ebenezer Pettigrew's Slaves,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXVII (December, 1950), 451–70.

Slavery, then, was the inevitable product of neither the weather nor some irresistible force in the South's economic evolution. Slaves were used in southern agriculture because men sought greater returns than they could obtain from their own labor alone. It was a man-made institution. It was inevitable only insofar as everything that has happened in history was inevitable, not in terms of immutable or naturalistic laws.

And finally, the revisionists have brought some of the classic conclusions about the economics of slavery under serious scrutiny. Was it really a profitable institution? Although Thomas R. Dew and some other proslavery writers argued that it was and that it would have been abolished had it not been, there has been a persistent tendency, dating back to ante-bellum times, to minimize the question of profits and to emphasize other factors. It was not that slavery was profitable—indeed many contended that it was actually unprofitable for most slaveholders—but rather it was the race question or the masters' feeling of responsibility for the Negroes that explained its preservation. This was also the conclusion of Professor Phillips who believed that, except on the rich and fresh lands of the Southwest, slavery had nearly ceased to be profitable by 1860.²³

But in recent years there has been much disagreement with this conclusion. Lewis C. Gray, Thomas P. Govan, Robert R. Russel, and Robert Worthington Smith have found evidence that slavery continued to be profitable for the slaveholders as a class down to the very outbreak of the Civil War.²⁴ Frequently the average money investment in the plantation labor force has been exaggerated; depreciation on this investment has been figured as a cost when the slaves were actually increasing in both numbers and value; and faulty accounting methods have resulted in listing interest on the slave investment as an operational expense. Too often profits have been measured exclusively in terms of staple production, and the value of the natural increase of slaves, of the food they produced for the master and his family, and of the personal services they rendered have been ignored. Many of the debt-burdened planters provided evidence not of the unprofitability of slavery but of their tendency to disregard the middle-class virtue of thrift and to live beyond their means. Nor does slavery appear to be

²³ *American Negro Slavery*, pp. 391-92.

²⁴ Lewis C. Gray, "Economic Efficiency and Competitive Advantage of Slavery under the Plantation System," *Agricultural History*, IV (April, 1930), 31-47; Thomas P. Govan, "Was Plantation Slavery Profitable?" *Jour. Southern Hist.*, VIII (November, 1942), 513-35; Robert R. Russel, "The General Effects of Slavery upon Southern Economic Progress," *ibid.*, IV (February, 1938), 34-54; Robert Worthington Smith, "Was Slavery Unprofitable in the Ante-Bellum South?" *Agric. Hist.*, XX (January, 1946), 62-64.

primarily responsible for the crude agricultural methods or for the soil exhaustion that occurred in the South.²⁵

Rarely has a group engaged in agriculture earned the returns and achieved the high social status enjoyed by the southern slaveholding class. Certainly no colonial or nineteenth-century farmer could have hoped to reap such fruits from his own labor. The fact that some planters made fortunes while others failed, that the profits were painfully low in times of economic depression, merely demonstrates that the slave-plantation system had many striking similarities to the factory system based on private capitalist production. Is one to generalize about the profits of industrial capitalism from the fortunes accumulated by some, or from the failures suffered by thousands of others? From the high returns in periods of prosperity, or from the low returns in periods of depression? And what is to be made of the oft-repeated argument that the planters got nowhere because "they bought lands and slaves wherewith to grow cotton, and with the proceeds ever bought more slaves to make more cotton"?²⁶ If this is the essence of economic futility, then one must also pity the late Andrew Carnegie who built a mill wherewith to make steel, and with the proceeds ever built more mills to make more steel. The economist would not agree that either Carnegie or the planters were in a vicious circle, for they were simply enlarging their capital holdings by reinvesting their surplus profits.

The revisionists still agree that slavery, in the long run, had some unfavorable economic consequences for the South as a whole, especially for the nonslaveholding whites.²⁷ And some historian may yet point out that slavery was not very profitable for the Negroes. At least he may question the baffling generalization that the southern whites were more enslaved by Negro slavery than were the Negro slaves.²⁸ For in the final analysis, it was the *Negro* who had the most to gain from emancipation.

Abolitionists have suffered severely at the hands of historians during the past generation. They have been roundly condemned for their distortions and exaggerations. But are historians really being "objective" when they combine warm sympathy for the slaveholders' point of view with cold contempt for those who looked upon the enslavement of four million American Negroes

²⁵ Gray, *History of Agriculture*, I, 447-48, 470; Avery O. Craven, *The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861* (Baton Rouge, 1939), chaps. I, II.

²⁶ Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, pp. 395-98.

²⁷ Gray, *History of Agriculture*, II, 940-42.

²⁸ "In a real sense the whites were more enslaved by the institution than the blacks." James G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1937), p. 73. "As for Sambo . . . there is some reason to believe that he suffered less than any other class in the South from its 'peculiar institution.'" Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (4th ed.; New York, 1950), I, 537.

as the most shocking social evil of their day? Perhaps historians need to be told what James Russell Lowell once told the South: "It is time . . . [to] learn . . . that the difficulty of the Slavery question is slavery itself,—nothing more, nothing less."²⁹ It may be that the most important fact that the historian will ever uncover about the South's "peculiar institution" is that slavery, at its best, was still slavery, and that certain dangers were inherent in a master-slave relationship even among normal men.

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²⁹ [James Russell Lowell], "The Question of the Hour," *Atlantic Monthly*, VII (1861), 120–21.

The Federalist—A Split Personality

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IN his address of September 27, 1836, John Quincy Adams suggested that the line of demarcation separating the political thought of Madison from that of his collaborator, Hamilton, was easily discernible in the *Federalist* papers. "In examining closely the points selected by these great co-operators to a common cause and their course of argument for its support," Adams observed, "it is not difficult to perceive that diversity of genius and character which afterwards separated them so widely from each other on questions of public interest, affecting the construction of the Constitution which they so ably defended, and so strenuously urged their country to adopt."¹

But was this "diversity" as distinct as Adams would lead one to believe? Six years earlier, John Mercer viewed the *Federalist* in a somewhat different light, insisting that

He who studies it with attention, will perceive that it is not only argumentative, but that it addresses different arguments to different classes of the American public, in the spirit of an able and skillful disputant before a mixed assembly. Thus from different numbers of this work, and sometimes from the same numbers, may be derived authorities for opposite principles and opinions. For example, nothing is easier to demonstrate by the numbers of *Publius* than that the government . . . is, or is not a National Government; that the State Legislatures may arraign at their respective bars, the conduct of the Federal Government or that no state has any such power.²

Measured by the trouble editors and scholars have experienced in sorting out and identifying internal evidence of authorship of the eighty-five essays, Mercer's comment would appear to be more discerning than Adams'. Scholars are still not sure about the authorship of certain numbers.³

*In preparing this article for publication, I have had the assistance of Gordon E. Baker and Joseph G. La Palombara.

¹ John Quincy Adams, *An Eulogy on the Life and Character of James Madison* (Boston, 1836), pp. 31-32. See also *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York, 1900-10), V, 55.

² *Proceedings and Debates of the Virginia State Convention of 1829-1830* (Richmond, 1830), p. 187.

³ "There is still some doubt," Benjamin F. Wright observes in a recent article, "concerning the authorship of from six to twelve of the eighty-five essays." "The Federalist on the Nature of Man," *Ethics*, LIX (January, 1949), 3. See also Max Beloff, ed., *The Federalist, or the New Constitution . . .* (Oxford and New York, 1948), who, in this painstaking edition, continued the practice of labeling certain "disputed" numbers "Hamilton and/or Madison." Apparently the only recent edition of this classic which makes unqualified identification of authorship is that of Carl Van Doren, ed., *The Federalist* (New York, 1945). All quotations from the *Federalist* included herein are taken from this edition.

Apparently Madison's philosophy had not been precisely understood by Hamilton himself. In any event, the latter was taken aback in 1792 when Madison began "cooperating with Mr. Jefferson . . . at the head of a faction decidedly hostile to me [Hamilton] . . . and actuated by views . . . subversive to the principles of good government and dangerous to the Union, peace, and happiness of the country."⁴ Hamilton insisted that he "knew of a certainty, it was a primary article in his [Madison's] creed, that the real danger in our system was the subversion of the national authority by the preponderancy of the State governments."⁵ This not unwarranted assumption helps to explain why the arch Federalist was surprised and chagrined after 1790 to find Madison high "among those who are disposed to narrow the federal authority."⁶ Besides Madison's invaluable assistance with the *Federalist*, Hamilton may have been thinking of an earlier collaboration in the Continental Congress where the two men provided the leadership for those legislators who were sensitive to basic defects in the Articles of Confederation and bent on achieving strong federal union. In 1783 Madison had even disregarded specific instructions from Virginia and presented a set of resolutions firmly endorsing the federal import duties, previously passed by Congress and opposed by the states.⁷

As late as October 12, 1789, Hamilton apparently felt that Madison was firmly on his side. In a letter to his former collaborator Hamilton asked the Virginian to forward in writing his suggestions for the best methods of

⁴ Alexander Hamilton to Edward Carrington, May 26, 1792, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Henry Cabot Lodge (New York, 1904), IX, 513.

⁵ *Ibid.* For evidence of Hamilton's confidence, see Madison's preconvention essay, "The Vices of the Political System of the United States," April, 1787, *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York, 1900-10), II, 361. In a letter to Jefferson prior to the Constitutional Convention, Madison contended that the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation could best be rectified by providing "the federal head with a negative in all cases whatsoever on the local legislatures." *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, published by order of Congress (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1865), I, 285. In reply Jefferson said: "Prima facie I do not like it. It fails in an essential character that the hole and the patch should be commensurate." Jefferson to Madison, June 20, 1787, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul Leicester Ford (New York, 1892-99), IV, 390-91. Later, in *Federalist* no. 45, Madison reaffirmed his fear of the centrifugal tendencies of state legislatures: "The more I resolve the subject, the more fully I am persuaded that the balance is much more likely to be disturbed by the preponderancy of the last [state governments] than of the first scale."

⁶ Alexander Hamilton to Edward Carrington, *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, IX, 513. Henry Jones Ford, in his sympathetic biography of Hamilton, asserts that it was generally assumed at the time of the Constitutional Convention that Hamilton and Madison were philosophical bedmates: "Nobody," Ford observes, "then thought there was any important difference between Madison and Hamilton in their political principles. They were then working in close accord." *Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1920), p. 198. The same view was held by another student of Madison, J. Mark Jacobson: "While he later became a follower of Jefferson, at this time he was an ardent nationalist and conservative." *The Development of American Political Thought* (New York, 1932), p. 171.

⁷ See Adrienne Koch, *Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration* (New York, 1950), pp. 8-9. At this time Madison felt extremely confident of Jefferson's support. He assumed that the latter would work diligently in the Virginia legislature to promote enlargement of national power.

increasing the federal revenue and of modifying the structure of the public debt in the interest of both public and creditors.⁸ Further evidence of Hamilton's confident expectation of Madison's support is the pleasure he expressed on learning that Madison had been elected to the House of Representatives. Hamilton's faith that Madison would join him in pressing forward his nationalist program was not shaken, as his letter to Colonel Carrington shows, until some time after the Virginian had become an articulate member of the opposition in Congress.⁹

Hamilton's mistaken assumptions, as well as the uncertainty of scholars regarding the diverging political creeds of Hamilton and Madison, lay partly in the fact that, in the struggle over ratification, strategic considerations drove the contestants on both sides to minimize and to exaggerate. To quiet the fears of opponents, advocates of ratification said things which, in later years, proved embarrassing to themselves and misleading to scholars. On the other hand, certain of the Constitution's enemies turned alarmist, portraying the proposed national charter in the most extreme terms. This strategy obscured positions on all sides and made the Constitution's meaning less than crystal clear.

The Constitution itself was neither altogether satisfactory, nor free from ambiguity. To friends of "firm union" and energetic government, like Hamilton, it was bitterly disappointing; to defenders of the "sovereign" states, it made for a "consolidated" system, an "aristocratic" government calculated to be as obnoxious as that which the colonists had thrown off in 1776.¹⁰ Jefferson's position is distinguishable from that of both Federalists and anti-Federalists. Particular provisions of the document impressed him less than the Constitution as a gratifying demonstration of the power of reason to bring varying interests and divergent views into constructive accord. Jefferson cited the new instrument as a glorious example of "changing a constitution, by assembling the wise men of the State, instead of assembling armies. . . ." ¹¹ "I am captivated," he wrote James Madison, December 20,

⁸ *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, IX, 462-63. It may be significant that this letter, one of several which Hamilton wrote to his former colleague during this period, was apparently never answered.

⁹ Ford, *Hamilton*, pp. 211-12. From an analysis of the earlier co-operation between the two men, Ford draws the wholly unwarranted conclusion that Madison's antagonism toward Hamilton was not rooted in basic principles but stemmed primarily from regional political rivalry.

¹⁰ See my article, "The Nature of Our Federal Union Reconsidered," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXV (December, 1950), 503, 510.

¹¹ Jefferson to David Humphreys, Mar. 18, 1789, *Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Thomas Jefferson Randolph (Boston and New York, 1830), II, 449. Jefferson apparently never felt, as did Hamilton and other nationalists, that after 1783, the really crucial need was "firm Union." Far from considering Union, as did Hamilton, of "utmost moment to the peace and liberty of the States," he regarded "the State governments" as "the true barriers of liberty in this country." In explaining Jefferson's failure to appreciate the

1787, "by the compromise of the opposite claims of the great and little States, of the last to equal, and the former to proportional influence."¹²

But was not the accommodation Jefferson saw, or thought he saw, reflected in the Constitution more apparent than real? Do not Hamilton and Madison display a sharp theoretical split while at the same time making concessions to views they could not honestly support, and in language so equivocal as to disguise the Constitution's true import? Obviously the Constitution did not draw the boundary lines between general government and the states, nor "define" the powers of Congress, nor indicate the source of such powers, with enough distinctness to escape bitter disagreement, protracted controversy, and finally civil war. But, did not the *Federalist*, instead of elucidating and clarifying the points of contention within the fundamental law, actually gloss these over and thereby add to the confusion? This paper may help to answer these questions.

Though first public reaction to the proposed Constitution was favorable in most states, strong and dangerous opposition soon asserted itself. In scores of pamphlets and speeches its critics—notably Elbridge Gerry in Massachusetts, Luther Martin in Maryland, George Mason and Richard Henry Lee in Virginia, Robert Yates and John Lansing in New York—began an unorganized but effective opposition.¹³ This lack of organization, however, did not prevent them from agreeing that the Constitution established a most objectionable "system of consolidated government." In the vital state of New York, Governor Clinton's stubborn fight frightened friends and supporters of ratification, and with good reason. For even if enough states ratified (which seemed not unlikely), it was recognized on all hands that any system omitting New York State would be analogous to *Hamlet* without Hamlet.

need for strong union growing out of the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, Hamilton observed that Jefferson "left the country before we had experienced the imbecilities of the former." Hamilton to Carrington, May 26, 1792, *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, IX, 513. And, in pointing out a fundamental difference between Madison and Jefferson on this point, Adrienne Koch, pp. 44-45, indicates that Madison had witnessed rash acts of state legislatures, driving him to support the move for a strengthened general government. At this same time, Jefferson was in France watching powerful "wolves" in Europe devour the "sheep"—the people. In justice to Jefferson it should be pointed out that he did give consideration to strong union; indeed, he was a staunch advocate of union, but the ingredients he envisaged as contributing to its achievement were far different from those of Hamilton. See in this connection, Julian P. Boyd, "Thomas Jefferson's 'Empire of Liberty,'" *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXIV (Autumn, 1948), 538-54.

¹² *Writings of Jefferson*, ed. Ford, II, 274.

¹³ See, for example, Luther Martin, "The Genuine Information," in Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven, 1911), III, 172 ff.; Elbridge Gerry, "Observations on the New Constitution and on the Federal and State Conventions," in Paul L. Ford, ed., *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States* (Brooklyn, 1888), pp. 8-14; Richard Henry Lee, "Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican," *ibid.*, p. 282; Robert Yates and John Lansing, "To the Governor of New York Containing their Reasons for not Subscribing to the Federal Constitution," *Senate Documents*, 60 Congress, 2 Session, Dec. 7, 1908-Mar. 4, 1909, p. 191.

It was this crucial situation in New York that prompted Hamilton to plan the now famous *Federalist* papers as ammunition for use there and in other states. That the essays literally constituted a debaters' handbook for Federalist delegates in the ratifying conventions of several states is an indication of the persuasiveness in these papers, if not the clarity of the arguments they contain.

In this enterprise—propaganda we might call it today—Hamilton joined with him John Jay, seasoned diplomat and expert in foreign affairs, and James Madison, Father of the Constitution. Jay was a key participant because of his extensive experience in and knowledge of external relations. Madison was indispensable not only because he was “the best informed Man of any point in debate”¹⁴ but also because, as the convention's semiofficial note-taker, he had gained unrivaled command of its proceedings.

These papers were published anonymously under the pseudonym “Publius,” and for many years following 1787 neither Hamilton nor Madison, for political reasons, was disposed to take the public into his confidence. During the writing of the essays they took special pains to guard the secrecy of authorship. When the two men corresponded with each other on matters concerning the papers, they frequently spoke of “Publius” as a third person, at times going so far in this deception as to speculate about the possible authorship of the essays.¹⁵

An interesting aspect of this period of “silence” has to do with Madison's relationship to Jefferson. The two friends had carried on a regular correspondence while the papers were in preparation, yet Madison, apparently, never divulged his share in the *Federalist* until a two-volume edition of the work had been in circulation for over two months. Madison, it is true, referred to the progress being made in the struggle over ratification but never alluded to the essays of “Publius” that figured so significantly in that contest. When, finally, Madison did take his friend into his confidence, he did so almost as an afterthought in a letter primarily concerned with other matters.

Col. Carrington tells me [he] has sent you the first volume of the *Federalist*, and adds the 2d by this conveyance. I believe I never have yet mentioned to you that publication. It was undertaken last fall by Jay, Hamilton, and myself. The proposal came from the two former. The execution was thrown, by the sickness of

¹⁴ “Notes of Major William Pierce on the Federal Convention of 1787,” *American Historical Review*, III (January, 1898), 331.

¹⁵ In a letter to Madison, written as the task was drawing to a close, Hamilton remarked: “I send you the *Federalist* from the beginning to the conclusion of the commentary on the Executive Branch. If our suspicions of the author be right, he must be too much engaged to make a rapid progress of what remains.” Hamilton to Madison, Apr. 3, 1788, *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, IX, 427. See also *ibid.*, p. 431.

Jay, mostly on the two others. Though carried on in concert, the writers are not mutually answerable for all the sides of each other, there being seldom time for even a perusal of the pieces by any but the writer before they were wanted at the press, and sometimes hardly by the writer himself.¹⁶

Adrienne Koch suggests that Madison was probably uneasy about revealing to Jefferson the nature of this collaboration with Hamilton. The Republican struggle against the New Yorker had not yet flared openly, but "Madison knew the tenor of Hamilton's contempt for democracy and democratic republicanism."¹⁷ And Madison went out of his way, as his letter to Jefferson makes clear, to point out that the authors were not "mutually answerable" for the other's arguments. Nor was Madison's silence due wholly to the desire to keep his authorship absolutely unknown, since he had strongly intimated his part in the essays to General Washington shortly after the project was begun and nine months before the "confession" to Jefferson.¹⁸

If Jefferson was surprised or chagrined at Madison's co-operation with Hamilton, he did not clearly divulge his feelings in reply: "With respect to the *Federalist*, the three authors had been named to me. I read it with care, pleasure and improvement, and was satisfied that there was nothing in it by one of those hands, and not a great deal by a second. It does the highest honor to the third, as being, in my opinion, the best commentary on the principles of government which ever was written." In addition to perceiving this distinction of talent and genius, all in Madison's favor, Jefferson evidently saw clearly, as did John Mercer, the concessions which Madison made to opposite viewpoints: "In some parts it is discoverable that the author means only to say what may be best said in defense of opinions in which he did not concur."¹⁹

So successful were the major authors of the *Federalist* in keeping their secret that one careful student has concluded that throughout the period in which the papers were written there were not more than a dozen individuals who could identify the three authors.²⁰ But two days before his fatal duel with Aaron Burr, Hamilton went to the law office of a friend, Egbert Bensen, and "ostentatiously" concealed in the lawyer's bookcase a slip listing what was presumably an accurate accounting of the authorship of various numbers. As was not unusual under the circumstances, Hamilton claimed

¹⁶ Madison to Jefferson, Aug. 10, 1788, *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Hunt, V, 246.

¹⁷ Koch, p. 52.

¹⁸ Madison to Washington, Nov. 18, 1787, *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Hunt, V, 55.

¹⁹ Jefferson to Madison, Nov. 18, 1788, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Ford, V, 433-34.

²⁰ Douglass Adair, "The Authorship of the Disputed *Federalist* Papers," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., I (April and July, 1944).

numbers he did not write. In 1818, Madison counterattacked, being prepared to state under oath that he had written twenty-nine of the essays instead of the fourteen accredited to him by Hamilton. Because of this conflict of claims, editors of the *Federalist* have been wont to elude the issue, using the “and/or” formula for the “disputed” numbers. This is no longer necessary. Professor Douglass Adair makes it clear that of the eighty-five essays, Jay wrote only five (numbers 2–5 inclusive and 64); Hamilton did numbers 1, 6–9, 11–13, 15–17, 21–36, 59–61, and 65–85 inclusive. Numbers 18, 19, and 20 appear to have been the result of the combined effort of Hamilton and Madison.²¹ The remaining numbers were written by Madison, making the authenticated tally Hamilton 51, Madison 26.

In a joint literary endeavor of such dimensions, done under great pressure, a distribution of labor was as necessary as it was natural. It was reasonable, too, that the division made should represent the special interests of the authors. Hamilton had diagnosed “the fundamental defect” in the Articles of Confederation as early as 1780: “want of power in Congress.” “The first step must be,” he said, “to give Congress powers competent to the public exigencies.”²² As to the state constitutions he was less categorical: “Perhaps the evil is not very great . . . for, notwithstanding their imperfections . . . they seem to have, in themselves . . . the seeds of improvement.”²³ But later, in Philadelphia, behind closed doors, he urged the necessity of “a general government completely sovereign,” the annihilation of “State distinctions and State operations, . . . State governments reduced to corporations with very limited powers.”²⁴

Madison, on the other hand, though not ignoring the need for more power in Congress, had pointed especially to troubles growing out of flagrant abuses in state legislatures, especially the subversive effect of laws affecting vested rights of property and contract. He had dealt with these inadequacies at length in his preconvention essay, “The Vices of the Political System of the United States.”²⁵ These evils were still in the forefront of his mind at Philadelphia when, on June 6, he queried Roger Sherman’s statement of “the objects of Union” as primarily “defense against foreign danger,” “treaties with foreign nations,” “regulating foreign commerce and drawing

²¹ However, Carl Van Doren, *The Federalist*, p. vi, asserts: “As to 18, 19, 20 . . . both Madison’s manuscripts and his statement make it clear that, while Hamilton did turn over some notes on historic confederacies to Madison, it was Madison who wrote the three essays and sent them to the printer.” On the basis of this editor’s findings, Madison would be accredited with twenty-nine of the essays.

²² *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, I, 213, 223.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 247.

²⁴ Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 287, 323.

²⁵ See n. 5 above.

revenue from it," etc. All these objects were important, Madison agreed, but he "combined with them the necessity of providing more effectually for the securing of private rights, and the steady dispensation of justice." "Interferences with these," he maintained, "were evils which had, more perhaps than anything else, produced this convention."²⁶ Madison reinforced his convictions on June 26;²⁷ he gave the same ideas full-dress treatment in the *Federalist*, numbers 10 and 51. For him an important object of the Constitution was to limit state legislative power. Article I, Section 10, was therefore among its most important provisions. For Hamilton, on the other hand, the new Constitution was chiefly significant as a grant of power. The heart of it was the congressional authority enumerated in Article I, Section 8, paragraphs 1 to 18 inclusive, and in the supremacy clause, Article VI, paragraph 2.

That Hamilton and Madison co-operated effectively in this joint enterprise is a matter of history. One reason is that there were between them certain important areas of agreement. Both men entertained an extremely pessimistic view of human nature.²⁸ Government is necessary, they agreed, because men are not angels. "What is government itself," Madison queried in essay 51, "but the greatest of all reflections on human nature?" "Why has government been instituted at all?" Hamilton asked in essay 15. "Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice, without constraint." This distrustful refrain (with exceptions to be hereafter noted) runs indistinguishable throughout the various numbers of the *Federalist*.

Human beings are seen as "timid and cautious" (no. 49). The essays stress the "caprice and wickedness of man" (no. 57), the "depravity of human nature," "the folly and wickedness of Mankind" (no. 78). In Madison's essays, no less than in Hamilton's, one notes the conviction that "men are ambitious, vindictive, and rapacious," that "momentary passions and immediate interests" (no. 6), "the infirmities and depravities of the human character" (no. 37), rather than "considerations of policy, utility, or justice" (no. 6), are dominant drives in politics. Here, at least, one supposes, is an element or factor that can be regarded as constant, giving politics whatever scientific criteria it may possess. The authors of the *Federalist*, like Montesquieu, the oracle to whom both Hamilton and Madison paid great

²⁶ Farrand, I, 131, 134.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 421-23, 430-32. Madison reiterated this basic argument in the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-30. *Proc. and Debates . . . Virginia State Convention of 1829-30*, pp. 538, 574.

²⁸ For a detailed discussion of this thesis, see B. F. Wright, "The Federalist on the Nature of Man" (see n. 3 above).

deference, were convinced that "virtue itself has need of limits."²⁹

Nor did the *Federalist* collaborators look forward, eventually, as did Karl Marx in 1848, to some earthly paradise, emerging either from changed economic and social environment or spiritual regeneration. "Have we not already seen enough," Hamilton observed with disdain, "of the fallacy and extravagance of those idle theories which have amused us with promises of an exemption from the imperfections, weaknesses, and evils incident to society in every shape? Is it not time to awake from the deceitful dream of a golden age, and to adopt as a practical maxim for the direction of our political conduct that we, as well as the other inhabitants of the globe, are yet remote from the happy empire of perfect wisdom and perfect virtue?" (no. 6). Human nature being what it is, man must employ his feeble contrivance of reason in building institutional fences around unconquerable human avarice and greed.

Hamilton and Madison also agreed that the Articles of Confederation were inadequate to cope with "the variety of controversies" which grow out of the "caprice and wickedness of man" (no. 57). Hamilton called the Articles of Confederation "an odious engine of government," so "radically vicious and unsound, as to admit not of amendment but by entire change in its leading feature" (no. 16). Madison's language was somewhat less drastic, and his stand less unequivocal, as we shall see, but he concurred in holding that the Articles were based on "principles which are fallacious; that we must consequently change this first foundation, and with it the superstructure resting on it" (no. 37).

Finally, Hamilton and Madison agreed that in a free society, "inequality of property" is inevitable. For them it was axiomatic that "inequality will exist as long as liberty existed," and the primary task of government is to protect "liberty," i.e., "the different and unequal faculties of acquiring property," from which the different degrees and kinds of property immediately result."³⁰ Growing out of these inevitable inequalities, both men envisaged society as torn by strife and struggle, the major manifestation of discord being identified as "factions."

These points of agreement should not, however, blind us to divergences so great as to prompt Professor Adair to speak of America's illustrious

²⁹ Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, trans. from the French by T. Nugent (4th ed., 1766), I, Book 11, p. 220.

³⁰ Madison, in *Federalist* no. 10. "It was certainly true," Hamilton remarked on the floor of the Philadelphia Convention, June 26, 1787, "that nothing like an equality of property existed: that an inequality would exist as long as liberty existed, and that it would unavoidably result from that very liberty itself. This inequality of property constituted the great and fundamental distinction in Society." Farrand, I, 424.

political classic as afflicted with a "split personality." At what points can this charge be documented?

Generally speaking, both men addressed themselves to the problem of finding a "republican" remedy for the evil to which popular government is peculiarly addicted. Madison described the disease as "faction." An in-eradicable malady, the "factious spirit" will exist "as long as the reason of man continues fallible, and he is at liberty to exercise it." This phenomenon is present whenever "a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or a minority of the whole [is] united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest adverse to the rights of other citizens or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community" (no. 10).

Madison is especially concerned with "factions" having "the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority," and therefore capable of sacrificing to "its ruling passion or interest both the public good and the rights of other citizens." A minority faction may, he admits, "clog the administration" or "convulse the society," but he concludes, too easily perhaps, that the Republican principle will enable "the majority to defeat its sinister views by regular vote" (no. 10). In the preconvention essay, mentioned above, Madison had gone so far as to say that a luxuriance of "vicious legislation" had brought "into question the fundamental principle of republican Government, that the majority who rule in such governments are the safest Guardians both of the public Good and private rights."³¹

The "latent causes of faction are thus sown in the nature of man," Madison observed in essay 10. They are "everywhere brought into different degrees of activity according to the different circumstances of civil society. A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points, as well of speculation as of practice; an attachment to different leaders ambitiously contending for pre-eminence and power; or to persons of other descriptions whose fortunes have been interesting to the human passions, have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity." Madison saw "the most frivolous and fanciful distinctions" exciting the "most violent conflicts." "Property" was "the most common and durable source of factions," not, as Harold Laski "quotes" him as saying, "the only" foundation.³²

For this many-faceted evil there was no easy remedy. Pure democracy was no cure because it is "incompatible with personal security or the rights of property." Two other possible remedies suggested themselves, but these

³¹ *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Hunt, II, 366.

³² Harold J. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics* (London, 1925), p. 162. See Wright, p. 22.

were also rejected. One would destroy liberty and create in the community a will "independent of the majority," as in monarchy; the other would give all citizens the same interests, the same passions, the same opinion, as in, say, communism (no. 51). Neither of these authoritarian correctives was acceptable: the first was unthinkable, the second impracticable.

"A Republic," "a well-constructed union," opened for Madison "a different prospect," for it comprehends society in many descriptions of parties, sects, interests, thus making an unjust combination of the whole very improbable, if not impossible. Madison's thesis is that the evil of factions and the social chaos which they breed could be ameliorated, consistently with republican principles, by establishing a limited federal government, by a system of indirect election "to refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country, and whose patriotism and love of justice will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations." Far from destroying the states, he would utilize them in the "refining" process, and as vital units of government. Furthermore, the vast size of the country, with its multiplicity of economic, geographic, social, religious, and sectional interests, was a blessing. "Extend the sphere," Madison reasoned, "and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens." "The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular states," but will be unable to encompass the entire nation (no. 10). Madison would carry over this self-correcting remedy into the organization of government itself, "by so contriving the interior structure of the government as that its several constituent parts may, by their mutual relations, be the means of keeping each other in their proper place" (no. 51).

Hamilton was as sensitive to the evil of "factions" as his collaborator, but whereas Madison saw them as multifarious, and "the various and unequal distribution of property" as only the "most common and durable source" thereof, Hamilton saw the social cleavage more exclusively grounded in economics. For him every community was divided "into a few and the many," rich and poor, debtors and creditors. Hamilton's cure in Philadelphia had been monarchical government similar to that of England. He queried whether a "good" executive "could be established on Republican principles." "The aristocracy," he had told the convention, "ought to be entirely separated; their power should be permanent. . . . They should be so circumstanced that they can have no interest in change. . . ." 'Tis essential there

should be a permanent will in the community.”³³ “A firm union,” a national government with “coercive” powers acting directly on individuals, were necessary “to repress domestic factions and insurrections,” he concluded in essay 9. John Quincy Adams did not take the trouble to spell it out, but he had hit upon a most significant aspect of the “diversity” in this great collaboration when he described Hamilton’s number 9 and Madison’s number 10 as “rival dissertations upon Faction and its remedy.”³⁴

Adams might have made the contrast even sharper by adding Madison’s number 51 and Hamilton’s numbers 70, 71, 76, and 78 in which the New Yorker elaborated his remedy for factions, stressing “the advantage of permanency in a wise system of administration,” of duration in office of “considerable extent,” of “independence” in government. “The republican principle,” he wrote in *Federalist* 71, “demands that the deliberate sense of the community should govern the conduct of those to whom they intrust the management of their affairs; but it does not require an unqualified complaisance to every sudden breeze of passion or to every transient impulse which the people may receive from the arts of men, who flatter their prejudices to betray their interests.” “There is an idea, which is not without its advocates,” he observed, “that a vigorous Executive is inconsistent with the genius of republican government.” Hamilton rejected this categorically, saying that “energy in the Executive is a leading character in the definition of a good government. It is essential to the protection of the community against foreign attacks; it is not less essential to the steady administration of the laws; to the protection of property against those irregular and high-handed combinations which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice; to the security of liberty against the enterprises and assaults of ambition, of faction, and of anarchy.” The arch-Federalist went on to illustrate the point:

Every man the least conversant in Roman story knows how often that republic was obliged to take refuge in the absolute power of a single man, under the formidable title of Dictator, as well against the intrigues of ambitious individuals who aspired to the tyranny, and the seditions of whole classes of the community whose conduct threatened the existence of all government, as against the invasions of external enemies who menaced the conquest and destruction of Rome [no. 70].³⁵

Hamilton placed perhaps even greater reliance on the federal judiciary—especially because of the provision for indefinite tenure of judges—as a safe-

³³ Farrand, I, 288, 299, 304–10, *passim*. See also *Federalist* nos. 35 and 36.

³⁴ Adams, *Eulogy on . . . James Madison*, p. 32.

³⁵ Hamilton cited this example with evident approval. Years later Jefferson recalled his own unfavorable reaction to Hamilton’s remark that “the greatest man . . . that ever lived, was Julius Caesar.” *Writings of Jefferson*, ed. Ford, XI, 168.

guard against factions. "In a monarchy," he explained, holding office during good behavior "is an excellent barrier to the despotism of the prince; in a republic it is a no less excellent barrier to the encroachments and oppressions of the representative body." Nor did judicial review involve any violation of republican principles. "It is far more rational to suppose, that the Courts were designed to be an intermediate body between the people and the legislature, in order . . . to keep the latter within the limits assigned to their authority. . . . It only supposes that the power of the people is superior to both; and that where the will of the legislature, declared in its statutes, stands in opposition to that of the people, declared in the Constitution, the judges ought to be governed by the latter rather than the former" (no. 78). In addition to serving as guardian of the people against Congress and against themselves, Hamilton emphasized as of equal, if not greater, importance, judicial review of state legislation and of state court decisions (nos. 16 and 22). The judiciary thus became the symbol of "firm union," of national prestige and power. "The majesty of the national authority," he wrote in *Federalist* 16, "must be manifested through the medium of the courts of justice."

The authoritarian note is evident throughout Hamilton's discussion of executive and judicial power. In essay 71 one encounters Rousseau's sentiments, that though the "people commonly *intend* the PUBLIC GOOD," they do not "always *reason right* about the *means* of promoting it."³⁶ The exalted role carved out for the executive and judiciary, especially the latter, is faintly suggestive of Rousseau's "Legislator"—"a superior intelligence beholding all the passions of men without experiencing any of them."³⁷ Hamilton was naturally less outspoken in the *Federalist*, than he had been at the Philadelphia convention, but he made no less clear his conviction that an independent will in government, immune from fluctuating gusts of popular passion, is an essential safeguard against "domestic insurrection and factions." The effect, he tells us, is not to enthrone authoritarianism nor flout popular government, but rather to safeguard "the people" when their "interests are at variance with their inclinations," thus protecting them from the "arts of men, who flatter their prejudices to betray their interests," giving them "time and opportunity for more cool and sedate reflection" (no. 71).

But does not such executive and judicial pre-eminence call for considerable qualification of those unseemly qualities Hamilton elsewhere

³⁶ Rousseau put it this way: "Of itself, the people will always the good. The general will is always right, but the judgment which guides is not always enlightened." *The Social Contract*, Everyman's Library (New York, 1935), p. 34.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

attributed to the general run of mankind? It would seem so if he were to avoid the logical inconsistency we are accustomed to associate with Hobbes. Hamilton, considering himself in this connection "as a man disposed to view human nature as it is, without either flattering its virtues or exaggerating its vices," maintained: "The sole and undivided responsibility of one man will naturally beget a livelier sense of duty and a more exact regard to reputation. . . . This supposition of universal venality in human nature is little less an error in political reasoning, than the supposition of universal rectitude" (no. 76).³⁸

One discovers in Madison's essays no such confidence in the purifying effect of power.³⁹ "The truth is," he said on the floor of the Philadelphia convention, "all men having power ought to be distrusted to a certain degree."⁴⁰ In *Federalist* 51 he held that government must be obliged "to control itself" through a policy of supplying "by opposite and rival interests the defects of better motives." In number 48 he had observed: "It will not be denied that power is of an encroaching nature, and that it ought to be effectually restrained from passing the limits assigned to it." Even when Madison spoke of energy and stability as being essential to security and good government he was wont to temper his stand with caution. In the achievement of his principal objective—"energy in government" combined "with the inviolable attention due to liberty and the republican form"—there is no suggestion of Hamilton's faith that "responsibility" and office-holding "during good behavior" will develop "impartiality" and the "requisite integrity" in government (nos. 76 and 78). "On comparing . . . these valuable ingredients [energy and stability] with the vital principles of liberty," Madison commented in essay 37, "we must perceive at once the difficulty of mingling them together in their due proportions." No such "difficulty" troubled Hamilton.

Madison's approach was consistently pluralistic. For him the states need

³⁸ Cf. Farrand, I, 82.

³⁹ In *Federalist* no. 55, Madison seems to qualify his earlier misgivings on human nature, but the context makes clear the contrast with Hamilton. "As there is a degree of depravity in mankind which requires a certain degree of circumspection and distrust, so there are other qualities in human nature which justify a certain portion of esteem and confidence. Republican government presupposes the existence of these qualities in a higher degree than any other form. . . . Were the pictures which have been drawn by the politically jealous of some among us faithful likeness of the human character, the inference would be, that there is not sufficient virtue among men for self-government; and that nothing less than the chains of despotism can restrain them from destroying and devouring one another." In the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-1830, Madison again cautioned that government means power and that the necessity of placing power in human hands means that it is liable to abuse. The danger of abuse is greatest when men act in a body, and since conscience alone is not a sufficient check, safeguards for minority rights must be found in the structure of government. Thus Madison conceded that the slavery interest would have to be incorporated into the government in order to guard against oppressive taxation which might result from the government falling into the hands of nonslave-owners. *Proc. and Debates . . . Virginia State Convention of 1829-30*, p. 538.

⁴⁰ Farrand, I, 584.

not be obliterated; they were adapted to a broad expanse of territory and helpful in serving the ends of a “well-constructed union,” of liberty and justice. “If they were abolished, the general government,” he wrote in number 14, “would be compelled by the principle of self-preservation, to reinstate them in their proper jurisdiction.” Hamilton, on the other hand, saw the great size of the country, torn by warring factions, as necessitating a consolidated system with “unconfined,” “coercive power,” poised at one center. If the states continued, as under the Articles of Confederation, as members of a “partial” union, “frequent and violent contests with each other” would be inevitable (no. 6). In contrast, Madison envisaged a counterpoised, confederate system, a “compound republic” with the power of the people divided between the states and the nation and national power “sub-divided among distinct and separate departments” (no. 51). Just as in a society, composed of sects, interests, classes, and parties, ambition checks ambition, vice checks vice, and interest is set against interest, so the governmental structure itself provided an institutional expression of social diversity, of action and counteraction.

Hamilton’s and Madison’s divergence is further reflected in their views on the Constitution and the government it established. For Hamilton the crucial infirmity of the existing system was congenital—“it never had ratification by the people.” To avoid the “gross heresy” that a “*party* to a *compact* has a right to revoke that *compact*,” “the fabric of American empire ought to rest on the solid basis of THE CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE” (no. 22). The Constitution corrected “the great and radical vice . . . legislation for States . . . as contradistinguished from the individuals of which they consist.” “If we are unwilling,” Hamilton commented, going to the heart of his nationalist creed, “to be placed in this perilous situation; if we still adhere to the design of a national government, or, which is the same thing, of a superintending power, under the direction of a common council, we must resolve to incorporate in our plan those ingredients which may be considered as forming the characteristic difference between a league and a government; we must extend the authority of the union to the persons of the citizens,—the only proper objects of government” (no. 15).

Hamilton, like the opponents of ratification, saw the proposed Constitution as designed to establish a “consolidated system,” “Union under one government,” “perfect subordination [of the states] to the general authority of the union” (no. 9).⁴¹ “If the federal system be not speedily renovated

⁴¹ However, Hamilton cautiously added: “It would still be, in fact and in theory, an association of states, or a confederacy. The proposed Constitution, far from implying an abolition of the State governments . . . leaves in their possession certain exclusive and very important portions of sovereign power.”

in a more substantial form," the "plain alternative" was "dissolution of the union" (no. 16). A critic of the proposed Constitution, Richard Henry Lee, had also identified "consolidation" as its objective, but had queried "whether such a change could ever be effected, in any manner; whether it can be effected without convulsions and civil wars."⁴² Madison was not so unequivocal as either his collaborator or those fighting ratification. "This assent and ratification is to be given by the people," he wrote in essay 39, "not as individuals composing one entire nation, but as composing the distinct and independent States to which they respectively belong. It is to be the assent and ratification of the several States, derived from the supreme authority in each State,—the authority of the people themselves. The act, therefore, establishing the Constitution, will not be a *national*, but a *federal* act."⁴³

The Madisonian distinction between *confederacy* and *consolidation*, so much labored in essay 39, Hamilton had brushed aside lightly in essay 9 as "a distinction more subtle than accurate," "in the main, arbitrary, . . . supported neither by principle nor precedent." In this he was in full accord with the Constitution's most rabid opponents, but not with his collaborator, Madison. In a word, Hamilton interpreted the Constitution as designed to correct "fundamental errors in the structure of the building." It was intended to slay "the political monster of an *imperium in imperio*" (no. 15). It may be that Hamilton's caveat thrown down to enemies of the Constitution—"let us not attempt to reconcile contradictions, but firmly embrace a rational alternative" (no. 23)—might have been more appropriately addressed to his colleague, Madison.

Nor were Hamilton and Madison fully agreed as to the nature and scope

⁴² Lee, "Letters . . ." (see n. 13 above), p. 283.

⁴³ It should be noted, however, that in the opening sentence of the paragraph in which this statement occurs, Madison says that "the Constitution is to be founded on the assent and ratification of the people of America. . . ." It is important also to recall Dr. Johnson's observation that in the Philadelphia Convention "states" were considered in two different senses: "as districts of people comprising one political society" and "as so many political societies." (Farrand, I, 461.) Madison endorsed Dr. Johnson's distinction, but "thought too much stress was laid on the rank of states as political societies." (*Ibid.*, 463–64.) The context in which this matter is discussed, both in essay 39 and in Madison's notes, makes it altogether clear that, in speaking of "assent and ratification" by the "several States," he is thinking of states as "districts of people comprising one political society"—that is, as "agents." On the floor of the Convention he had "considered the difference between a system founded on the Legislatures only, and one founded on the people, to be the true difference between a *league* or *treaty* and a *Constitution*." (Farrand, II, 93.) He "thought it indispensable that the new Constitution should be ratified . . . by the supreme authority of the people themselves." (Farrand, I, 123.) Many years later, Chief Justice Marshall had likewise considered the states as "districts of people comprising one political society." "It is true," Marshall agreed, "that they [the people who ratified the Constitution] assembled in their several states—and where else could they have assembled? No political dreamer was ever wild enough to think of breaking down state lines and of compounding the American people in one common mass. Of consequence, when they act, they act in their States. But the measures they adopt do not, on that account, cease to be the measures of the people themselves, or become the measures of the State governments." (*McCulloch v. Maryland*, 4 Wheat. 316, 403; but compare *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Hunt, VI, 348–49.)

of the power granted to the national government. For Madison the task of the convention was not to abolish the Articles of Confederation, but to “reduce” them: “The truth is, that the great principles of the Constitution proposed by the convention may be considered less as absolutely new than as an expansion of the principles which are found in the Articles of Confederation” (no. 40). “If the new Constitution be examined with accuracy and candor,” he wrote in essay 45, “it will be found that the change which it proposes consists much less in the addition of NEW POWERS to the Union, than in the invigoration of its ORIGINAL POWERS.” “The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the federal government,” he explained in number 45, “are few and defined.”

For Hamilton, on the other hand, the objects of the national government were general, and the powers granted for achieving them were undefined—indeed, undefinable. It would be, he declared, “both unwise and dangerous to deny the federal government an *unconfined authority* as to all those objects which are entrusted to its management. . . . Not to confer . . . a degree of power commensurate to the end, would be to violate the most obvious rules of prudence and propriety, and improvidently to trust the great interests of the nation to the hands which are disabled from managing them with vigor and success” (no. 23). Thus the powers granted the national government differed not merely in degree, as Madison insisted, but in kind. In Hamilton’s mind Article I, Section 8, paragraphs 1 to 18 inclusive, combined with Article VI, paragraph 2, meant far more than “invigoration of original powers.” Here was a grant of power broad enough to meet any and all unforeseeable exigencies. Nor was the force of the new government to be applied so exclusively as Madison suggested in *Federalist* 45 to the field of foreign relations, or “in times of war and danger.” Hamilton conceived of the national government as dominant in domestic affairs, especially as a positive coercive force to suppress “factions and insurrections.”

How could men whose opinions took paths so widely separated co-operate effectually—indeed, work together at all? There are numerous possible answers. The particular division of labor served to preclude any head-on clash, or at least obscure a basic antagonism. For those unable to detect the seeds of future strife, the split rendered the Constitution more, rather than less, acceptable.

Nor can one always be certain in identifying the stand of either Hamilton or Madison. Their interpretations become less categorical when either author enters the province of the other. Thus Madison’s nationalism in *Federalist* 14 is qualified in essays 39 and 40. The diminutive scope of the

power he accorded Congress in essays 40 and 45 was lost sight of in essay 44: "No axiom is more clearly established in law, or in reason, than that whatever end is required, the means are authorized; whenever a general power to do a thing is given, every particular power necessary for doing it is included." In later years these words were easily fashioned into an effective instrument of national statesmanship.⁴⁴

Similarly, Hamilton's bold nationalist stand in numbers 9, 15, and 22, his inference that the proposed Constitution, as a logical necessity, eliminated every essential vestige of the old relationship of states as members of a "League," is toned down, even neutralized, elsewhere. "An entire consolidation," he remarked in *Federalist* 32, "of the States into one complete national sovereignty would imply an entire subordination of the parts; and whatever powers might remain in them, would be altogether dependent on the general will. But as the plan of the convention aims only at a partial union or consolidation, the State governments would clearly retain all the rights of sovereignty which they before had, and which were not by that act, *exclusively* delegated to the United States." In case of conflict even in the crucial matter of taxation Hamilton suggested the desirability of "reciprocal forbearance" (no. 32). Anticipating the provisions of Amendment X, he declared "that the States will retain all *pre-existing* authorities which may not be exclusively delegated to the federal head" (no. 82). And in essay 26, he cast the states in the role of "jealous guardians of the rights of the citizens against the encroachments from the federal government."

Madison's balanced purpose—to combine "energy in government, with the inviolable attention due to liberty and the republican form"—made a certain degree of equivocation quite natural. And when, during Washington's administration, Madison began his retreat from the nationalist stronghold, Hamilton discerned the underlying ambiguity in the Virginian's statesmanship. Madison's "attachment to the government of the United States," Hamilton told Colonel Carrington in 1792, was "more an affair of the head than of the heart; more the result of a conviction of the necessity of Union than of cordiality to the thing itself."⁴⁵ Madison's essays in the *Federalist* bear this out.

On the surface Hamilton's motives were elusive. In the opening number of the *Federalist* he confessed mixed feelings toward the project he had

⁴⁴ Daniel Webster, in his brief submitted on behalf of the plaintiffs in the *Dartmouth College* case, cites number 44 in support of his contention that the Constitution was intended to impose severe curbs on the powers of the several states. *The Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 4 Wheaton, 589, 608. For other examples, see Adair, "Authorship of the Disputed Federalist Papers" (see n. 20 above), p. 103.

⁴⁵ *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, IX, 531.

launched: "The consciousness of good intentions disdains ambiguity," he said. "My arguments will be open to all, and may be judged of by all. . . . My motives must remain in the depository of my own breast." No such obscurity cloaked his attitude on September 17 when he signed the Constitution. Then it was "impossible to deliberate between anarchy and Convulsion on one side, and the chance of good to be expected from the plan on the other."⁴⁶ He knew that even this chance would be lost unless a strong national authority could be immediately established. "A good administration will conciliate the confidence and affection of the people, and perhaps enable the government to acquire more consistency than the proposed constitution seems to promise for so great a country. It may triumph altogether over the State governments, and reduce them to an entire subordination, dividing the larger States into smaller districts."⁴⁷

This Machiavellian twist in Hamilton's reasoning, foreshadowed in his letters to Duane and in the *Continentalist*, suggests what he had in mind—squeeze out by interpretation whatever power was necessary to achieve an adequately energetic government. "A statesman," he had remarked earlier, "ought to walk at the head of affairs and produce the event." This was a far easier job than even he dared hope, for the ambiguity lay far less in the language of the Constitution than in the "diversity of genius" John Quincy Adams noted in the *Federalist*.

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⁴⁶ Farrand, II, 646.

⁴⁷ *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, I, 423. Compare these sentiments with those expressed in the *Federalist*, nos. 26, 28, 32, 81, and 82.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Samuel Gridley Howe as Phrenologist

HAROLD SCHWARTZ

IN the 1830's, perhaps the most sensational of the many scientific developments which bade fair to revolutionize human concepts was phrenology, the science of the mind. Though the twentieth century classifies it with astrology and other fortune-telling pseudo-sciences practiced along boardwalks and midways, serious thinkers of an earlier era greeted it with as much fervor as contemporary America has displayed for psychoanalysis. Franz Joseph Gall, a Viennese physician specializing in brain physiology, started the study in the 1790's. He was joined in 1804 by John Gaspar Spurzheim, who became his leading disciple and associate.¹ Working together they spread their theories throughout Europe. In a short time what had started out as the study of the brain became a philosophy of the mind, an aid to the study of character, and eventually a system of moral philosophy. Its basic principle was that by analysis of the structure of a physical object, the brain, one could determine intangible qualities of character. Each human faculty, it was claimed, is controlled by a section of the brain, the individual's character being the sum of these sections taken together, and as ratios differ, characters vary. Phrenologists drew up charts of the brain showing the seat of each faculty. For example, a popular text gave directions for finding the degree of moral sentiment in a man:

The centre of Causality corresponds to the point of ossification in the frontal bone, and the centre of Cautiousness to the point of ossification in the parietal bone, all that part of the head which lies above these points belongs to the Moral Sentiments, allowing a little for Causality and a little for Cautiousness. Pass a string, therefore, round the head over these points, and if that part of it which lies above a plane, of which this string is the boundary, be low and flat, you may rest assured that the Moral Sentiments are small; if it be high and broad, you may be certain that they are large.²

Phrenology came later to America than it did to Europe. Though texts on the subject were read here in the 1820's and noted physicians, such as John C. Warren of the Harvard Medical School and Charles Caldwell of Transylvania University, wrote and lectured on it, its flowering dates from

¹ John Gaspar Spurzheim, *Phrenology, or the Doctrine of Mental Phenomena* (Boston, 1832), I, 11.

² George Combe, *Lectures on Phrenology* (New York, 1839), p. 189.

Spurzheim's visit of 1832.³ He arrived in August to begin a lecture tour of the United States, but lived only long enough to deliver one series in Boston before his death and burial at Mt. Auburn in November. In that short time he captivated the minds of a small number of interested persons who believed in him implicitly. They mourned him by pen and deed. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody commemorated his passing with the bathetic verses, "Welcome of Angels & Farewell of Men to the beloved Spurzheim."⁴ His more stoic masculine followers formed the Boston Phrenological Society on November 17, the day of the master's funeral. Samuel Gridley Howe, the hero of the Greek Revolution, served as corresponding secretary.⁵ The society conducted lectures at which the members heard the latest dogma preached. It maintained also a museum of phrenology, the chief attraction of which was Spurzheim's skull. Within a few years there were similar organizations all over the country, since Howe mentions corresponding with them in every state.⁶

As the new subject spread, a great flood of pamphlets appeared in the leading cities to explain it to the uninitiated. Little manuals for self-instruction were written for the benefit of those already converted.⁷ In answer to charges that it was anti-Christian, that it was too materialistic, other pamphlets were prepared to assure the faithful that one could believe without endangering one's soul.⁸

After Spurzheim's death the leading phrenologist was the Scotsman George Combe, and it was he who exerted the greatest influence on American believers. At first glance, Combe seems a strange person to lead a scientific movement which claimed such leaders as Warren, Caldwell, Howe, all three trained as physicians, and Benjamin Silliman, the pioneering chemist, among its votaries, but when one considers the type of science it was, it does not appear too surprising. Combe was converted in 1818 upon hearing Spurzheim in Edinburgh. The Viennese physician convinced the Scottish attorney casting about for something worthy of his capacities that phrenology had all the an-

³ Edward Warren, *The Life of John Collins Warren* (Boston, 1860), II, 11; Caldwell's numerous works are available in the New York Public Library and probably in other large collections.

⁴ The original is available in the Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

⁵ John C. Warren, *The Collection of the Boston Phrenological Society—A Retrospect* (New York, n.d.), III, 4. This was by no means the first. Washington, possibly because of the presence of foreigners, appears to have had such a society in 1828, since the Widener Library of Harvard University has one of its reports of that date.

⁶ Howe to [?] Phrenological Society, Dec. 30, 1836, Howe Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard.

⁷ E.g., William Hunt, *A Concise Introduction to Phrenology* (Boston, 1834).

⁸ William Ingalls, *Phrenology Not Opposed to the Principles of Religion, Nor the Precepts of Christianity* (Boston, 1839); also, Charles Caldwell, "Phrenology Vindicated," *New England Magazine*, VIII (January, 1835), 14-19.

swers. Combe came to regulate his life according to its principles, even choosing a wife on that basis after Spurzheim advised him of his fitness for matrimony. His search was over in 1833, when he found a fairly wealthy girl with a large anterior lobe, whose Benevolence, Conscientiousness, Firmness, Self-esteem, and Love of Approbation were amply developed, and whose Veneration and Wonder were as moderate as his own.⁹ A man of one idea, he knew nothing else, feeling that he hadn't begun to live until he learned the science.

But for Phrenology [he wrote Howe], I should have lived & died longing for a field in which I could do good to mankind & earn an honourable fame. I yet can see no science, no vocation, in which I could have obtained scope for my desires & capacities except this one. . . .¹⁰

His success in the practical application of his theories was legendary. It was told of him that when presented with an article written jointly by two authors, he was able by an examination of casts of their heads to determine which of the sections each of the collaborators had written.¹¹

In numerous works, particularly the phenomenally successful *Constitution of Man*, he taught a moral philosophy based on the relationship between natural laws and the mind. His basic tenet became the key principle of his followers' conception of the subject, namely, "We are physical, organic, and moral beings, acting under the sanction of general laws, whether the connection of different portions of the brain, as taught by Phrenology, be admitted or denied."¹² The truths of the science would enable mankind to construct a practical system of mental philosophy, capable of combining harmoniously with religion and promoting the improvement of the human race.¹³ This book became more than any other the Bible of the creed. No less a personage than Horace Mann, secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, considered it as having done more to vindicate the ways of God to man than any other work for hundreds of years.¹⁴

American phrenologists were thrilled when Combe, the greatest teacher of them all, arrived in the United States in 1838 on a lecture tour. His disciples flocked about him as if to experience a spiritual communion. For years they had devoured his words, now they could hear him at last. Of all his followers, none grew closer to him than the illustrious Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the director of the New England Institution for the Educa-

⁹ Article on Combe in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, IV, 884.

¹⁰ Combe to Howe, Mar. 5, 1840, Howe Papers, Houghton.

¹¹ "Answer to the Article on Phrenology, in the *Christian Examiner*," *New England Mag.*, VIII (March, 1835), 183.

¹² George Combe, *The Constitution of Man* (5th American ed.; Boston, 1835), p. iv.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁴ Mann to Lydia Mann, Nov. 9, 1838, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

tion of the Blind, which in 1839 was renamed the Perkins Institution. His youthful years in Greece behind him, Howe was now in the full flower of his manhood, achieving international fame as the teacher of Laura Bridgman, the little deaf-blind girl from Hanover, New Hampshire, whom he placed in contact with the world. Fiery and dynamic, Howe never did things by halves. During his Greek years, a more violent Turcophobe than most of the natives, when he took up teaching, he became in less than a decade one of the foremost members of the profession. In later years he became an abolitionist. As he grew more committed to its program there developed within him a pathological hatred of slavery and its works. But just as Howe could hate, so he could love. Julia Ward, his wife, one of the most charming of women, Charles Sumner, Horace Mann, and Theodore Parker, as distinguished a group as one could hope to know, are testimony to the power of his personality.

George Combe, too, found a place in that choice circle upon his arrival in Boston. Howe was drawn irresistibly to him, having found in his writings the answer to the vexing problems of the connection between immaterial and material in the human being. The master-disciple relationship quickly became a warm friendship of equals. The elder philosopher visited the blind school and marveled at the work he saw in progress. To Howe, Combe was the most high-minded of men who devoted himself to his calling "simply that he may do good in his day & generation."¹⁵

Combe's leading American interpreter had come to realize the basic fact that the condition of the mind depended on the state of the physical organization.¹⁶ These relationships were bound inextricably to divine will and benevolence, since by following proper phrenological principles mankind could develop and improve, but their neglect would lead to punishment unto the third and fourth generations.¹⁷

Howe saw more than mere physical truth in the principle; he felt it had applications to society as a whole. Mankind, he insisted, is a unit in which all individuals are implicated. If one portion is unhealthy, the disease is reflected on the other parts as well. Phrenology teaches that institutions and the regulations of society are built on the principle of social feeling. In man's mind as in his body, all faculties must be developed. "The society which effects this to the greatest possible number of its members," he wrote, "is in accordance with the principles of phrenology, and is good."¹⁸

¹⁵ Howe to John O. Sargent, Nov. 17, 1838, Howe Papers, Houghton.

¹⁶ Howe, *Thoughts on Language; A Lecture Delivered before the American Institute of Instruction* (Boston, 1842), p. 4.

¹⁷ Howe, *Discourse on the Social Relations of Man* (Boston, 1837), p. 4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

His devotion to phrenology was complete. He now gave new interpretations to certain ideas he had during his undergraduate days considered as based on reason. There was no shred of doubt in his mind as to the truth of the science. As a teacher he claimed to follow its principles in his work, although he never alleged so in his reports. His course of study, adumbrated in 1832, with its emphasis on development of mind and body might be claimed as a phrenological principle, except that he wrote it before his conversion, so far as this author can tell.¹⁹ Howe felt phrenology's simplicity, clearness, and universal applicability were light shed on dark corners of the science of the mind, making it immensely valuable to the legislator and to the teacher. It would effect changes in the whole social system of man. "What the discovery of the mariner's compass has been to navigators," he prophesied, "will be the philosophy of Phrenology to education and legislation."²⁰ The body as well as the mind had to be developed, to prevent the abuse of God's gift. The science taught the necessity of balance, and it was on this principle that he based his teaching. Precocity in youth upset the equilibrium he strove for since it forced the development of a faculty before children were ready for it. In his opinion, premature cerebral development resulted in distorted growth.²¹

In the field of moral philosophy, phrenology was the only system which gave him a rational explanation of the difference between the mental endowments of man and the lower animals, the only system which explained why man does what he does, why he must know, and why he worships his Creator. There is an innate disposition implanted in the species which impels individuals to worship superior beings, and all in whom this disposition is most strongly marked have the organ of veneration in the brain most strongly developed.²²

The true phrenologist must be religious, but he must recognize that many sacred institutions run counter to the principles of science. Howe wished to see Christianity purified of its fanaticism and all observances injurious to physical health or conducive to undue cerebral excitement. Man should not hesitate to touch what is aged and venerable, for, he queried, "had the reformers of past days hesitated, where should we now be?"²³ Man's innate spirit is religious, but he will reject what offends reason. Among these were

¹⁹ See for example the First Report of the Perkins Institution, 1832, which was published as *Address of the Trustees of the New England Institution for the Education of the Blind to the Public*.

²⁰ Howe, *Address Delivered at the Anniversary Celebration of the Boston Phrenological Society, December 28, 1835* (Boston, 1836), p. 18.

²¹ Howe, *Social Relations of Man*, pp. 23-25.

²² Howe, *Anniversary Address*, pp. 20-21.

²³ *Social Relations of Man*, p. 28.

such rites contrary to natural law as revivals, which he considered demoralizing in their effects and humiliating as exhibitions of fanaticism and folly.²⁴

To Howe it was absurd to war against phrenology on the ground that it would overthrow Christianity, for, if the religion is false, the sooner it is exploded the better. There was no need to fear this, however, since God is truth and his worship is founded in eternal principles of nature, which science can only confirm.²⁵ No phrenologist could ridicule the notion of the perfectibility of man,²⁶ and phrenology presenting a simple and beautiful system of moral philosophy would be one of the means aiding this development.²⁷

Howe lived his belief, carrying it into his daily relations. In a statement prepared expressly for George Combe, he acknowledged that whatever success he had attained, had come from his understanding of the science of the mind: "Before I knew Phrenology, I was groping my way in the dark as blind as my pupils; I derived very little satisfaction from my labors, and fear that I gave but little to others."²⁸ It entered into the curriculum of his school where the upper classes studied it from an outline he prepared. He even allowed them to attend Combe's lectures in the fall of 1838.²⁹

No one was safe from Howe's searching gaze; he always looked at people's heads trying to judge their character, especially those of famous men. In the spring of 1838 he wrote an article on "The Heads of Our Great Men" for Park Benjamin's *American Monthly Magazine*, that was a farcical demonstration of the *post hoc* reasoning typical of phrenologists.³⁰ The flaws of their faith were clearly laid forth in all their ridiculous pretension. To Howe, the tops and backs of men's heads were almost as little alike as their faces. Taking as true the theory that all who have a long reach of head from the ear forward and but little behind are intellectual, while all who have a great thickness in back of the neck are decidedly animal, he reprinted a table of the heads of prominent men prepared by the Surgeon General of the Army. All the skulls under survey were larger than average, each showing the chief characteristic of its owner. The Indian Agent had a small faculty of inhabitiveness, and consequently Howe was not surprised to learn that he had traveled all over the world. John Quincy Adams showed, not eloquence, but the largest perceptive faculty according to the distances from

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-36.

²⁵ *Anniversary Address*, p. 27.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁷ *Social Relations of Man*, p. 39.

²⁸ George Combe, *Notes on the United States* (Philadelphia, 1841), II, 204.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 63.

³⁰ *American Monthly Magazine*, N.S. V (April, 1838), 354-69; Park Benjamin to Howe, Apr. 8, 1838, Howe Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, gives the authorship. The article was published anonymously.

ear to forehead and between the eyes. Truly, no American could match the former President's varied knowledge.³¹

The measure of destructiveness was through the head from ear to ear, and, next to an officer cashiered for theft, President Van Buren's was largest. Howe in mock indignation noted "the folly of phrenological predictions," as indeed it was, but considering the view he had earlier expressed of the Little Magician in a series called "Atheism in New England," one wonders if he were not now more convinced than ever of the truth of the science.³²

Daniel Webster didn't come off well in this study either. He had the largest head to be sure, but there was too much in the "animal region, and though he has 'most brains of the bunch,' they are not of the very choicest kind."³³ Howe never did think well of the pride of Massachusetts Whiggery, and as the slavery crisis deepened, his dislike for him grew stronger.

Phrenology began to fade within a few years. Most scientific men refused to accept it, as Howe himself noted in his article.³⁴ Furthermore, its pretensions were repugnant to many who could not accept so deterministic a philosophy of mind.³⁵ There were also serious flaws in its teachings as others were quick to point out. One author showed that Spurzheim, Gall, and Combe ascribed three different functions to the same part of the brain.³⁶ The fatuousness of its leaders may be gauged by the analysis Combe wrote of Howe after their acquaintance had endured for a couple of years. Had he been able to do this immediately at their first meeting one could say that there might perhaps have been something in his theories, but one hardly needed to examine Howe's brain to know he was combative. After telling him that he was an easy subject to analyze, with a temperament and brain allied to genius, Combe continued:

You have very large Love of Approbation, which gives you the desire of distinction; & large Combateness. In youth, the fire of your temperament joined to these two faculties led you to Greece: But even then a large Benevolence served to direct your steps.—There was generous philanthropy combined with the love of military glory inciting you to join in that noble struggle.—Genius with such a combination as yours cannot be idle, or be content without a field commensurate to its desires. . . . You have powers for yet a brighter destiny, if it could be found.³⁷ Howe sought ceaselessly for this brighter destiny.

³¹ "Heads of Great Men," p. 360.

³² "Atheism in New England," *New England Mag.*, VII (December, 1834), 500–509 and VIII (January, 1835), 53–62.

³³ "Heads of Great Men," p. 362.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

³⁵ See the review article on Combe's *System of Phrenology* in the *Boston Quarterly Review*, ed. Orestes Brownson, III (April, 1839), 205–27.

³⁶ "O," "Phrenology," *New England Mag.*, VI (June, 1834), 471.

³⁷ George Combe to Howe, Mar. 15, 1840, Howe Papers, Houghton.

The science fell into the hands of practicing "phrenologists" who for a small fee offered to give character readings to their clients. The ubiquitous firm of Fowler & Wells with offices in New York and other cities were only the most prominent of such concerns whose notices cluttered up the meager newspapers of the day. Phrenology had at last taken the path leading to the midway and boardwalk; its decline was complete.

The Boston Phrenological Society gave up the ghost sometime in the 1840's after a flourishing existence of about a decade. Its collection, with Spurzheim's skull, came into Howe's possession. He stored it at the Perkins Institution for several years until he sold it for debts the society owed him to Warren, who turned it over to Harvard.³⁸

Howe remained loyal to the fad long after it had been discredited. His wife has noted that he was likely in meeting new acquaintances to observe the shape of the head, once going so far as to insist that a prospective household servant take her hat off, before he would hire her, so that he could judge her character. Combe's friendship stayed with him. When they were both in Rome in 1844, they toured the art galleries together. Julia Ward Howe has left an amusing description of her husband and Combe as they stood before a head of Zeus which they examined according to phrenological principles.³⁹ More significantly, Howe clung to Combe's moral philosophy. Though he never used the term "phrenology," or even referred to it publicly, he bore in mind the necessity of keeping the body healthy as well as the mind, doctrines not yet repudiated. He carried these principles into effect both at the Perkins Institution and the Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-Minded Youth which he organized late in the 1840's.

Phrenology was one of those curious sidetracks of knowledge down which intellectuals in their eagerness to embrace some new thing of great promise sometimes wander. It generally takes several years before the true character of these movements appears, at which time, if the promise is shown to be hollow, most will revert to good sense, leaving the field to the charlatans. The twentieth century has shown us the pattern repeated many times.

Baltimore, Maryland

³⁸ The Howe-Warren Correspondence extending from 1847 to 1849 is available at the Massachusetts Historical Society. Warren to President and Corporation of Harvard, Nov. 11, 1849, announces his intention of turning over the collection to the university. It should be said that Howe considered Spurzheim's skull priceless. He refused to sell it, but turned it over for safekeeping and for preservation as a sacred relic. Howe to Warren, Sept. 17, 1849.

³⁹ Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences, 1819-1899* (Boston, 1900), p. 132.

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Reviews of Books

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General History

CLOSING THE RING. By *Winston S. Churchill*. [The Second World War, Volume V.] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1951. Pp. xvi, 749. \$6.00.)

Now that Winston Churchill is once again Prime Minister of Great Britain additional interest attaches to the history of his former premiership. It is not only that the book lover may wonder whether urgent political duties may delay the publication of later volumes in this series; diplomats and men of affairs will also turn with redoubled attention to these volumes to study the man himself and his special way of thinking. There is, for instance, some contemporary importance in the fact that Churchill wrote in 1944 that the reason British Communist war correspondents had not been sent to the front was that "Communists do not hesitate to betray any British or American secrets they may find to the Communist Party, no doubt for transmission to Russia" (p. 715), or his recommendation to support the Jewish rather than the Arab policy in Palestine (p. 689), a recommendation tragically neglected by the Labor government which followed his own.

The scope of the present volume is the year extending from June, 1943, to June, 1944. It deals largely, in fact principally, with the Italian campaign and its diplomatic setting, but the other events of the year are all touched on: the campaign by air and on the sea, the negotiations with Stalin, the preparations for the invasion of Normandy, the events in the Pacific and the Far East. So far as it is an argument, the thesis of the book is that not enough attention was paid to military possibilities in the Near East. The "most acute difference I ever had with General Eisenhower," he says, was over a campaign for Rhodes and Leros in the Aegean area: "It would have been easy, but for pedantic denials in the minor sphere, to have added the control of the Aegean, and very likely the accession of Turkey, to all the fruits of the Italian campaign" (pp. 224-25). Again, he argued to convince Stalin that he was not making a choice between the Mediterranean campaign and the Normandy invasion, but between the Mediterranean campaign and one in Burma (p. 377). In his opinion, the Far East could wait its turn, until the Near East had been served. He did not agree that China was really a great power, or a major factor in the war, though he personally liked Chiang Kai-shek and his wife, who "are now regarded as wicked and corrupt reactionaries by many of their former admirers" (p. 329).

Churchill seems at all times to have put usefulness to the war effort ahead of both ideology and idealism. He wrote to Roosevelt: "We should not be able to agree here in attacking countries which have not molested us because we dislike their totalitarian form of government. I do not know whether there is more freedom in Stalin's Russia than in Franco's Spain. I have no intention to seek a quarrel with either" (p. 627). He dealt with De Gaulle, though he con-

stantly complains of the French patriot's stiff and unco-operative attitude. He swung British support from the royalist Serb Mihailovic to the Communist Tito because Tito was carrying on a more active campaign. He went very far indeed to meet Russia's demands for a share of prewar Poland. He would have welcomed Mussolini as an ally, though he was insistent on crushing him as an enemy ("His fatal mistake was the declaration of war on France and Great Britain. . . . Had he not done this, he might well have maintained Italy in balancing position, courted and rewarded by both sides. . . . Even when the issue of the war become certain, Mussolini would have been welcomed by the Allies," p. 51). Now, a statesman equally capable of getting along with Roosevelt, Stalin, Tito, De Gaulle, Franco, and (had the Duce been willing) even Mussolini, is not to be classed as either a conservative or a liberal; he is simply a British patriot. Anyone negotiating with him in the future can safely put aside all doctrinaire considerations and discuss everything from the standpoint of national interests.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is the account of the rival plans which Roosevelt and Churchill discussed with Stalin for the postwar partition of Germany. Both favored the idea, but Roosevelt had in mind the "Balkanization" of Germany into seven fragments, five independent and two under the United Nations; Churchill thought of a two-fold division, into Prussia and South Germany. Neither plan was, perhaps, very realistic, and the kind of partition of Germany which actually came about, into a free zone and a Russian zone, is as objectionable to Churchill as to anyone.

As in his other volumes, Churchill appears equally concerned with details and with broad problems. As he himself said that "An efficient and a successful administration manifests itself equally in small as in great matters," it is scarcely surprising to find him taking a personal interest in artificial runways for air-planes, made of ice and wood pulp (pp. 75-76); in the use of "aircraft" for "aeroplane," and "intense" for "intensive" and other niceties of official style; in extra grain for chicken farmers; in extra leather for civilian boots; in the use of dignified terms for code words covering military operations, since we should not "enable some mother to say that her son was killed in an operation called 'Bunnyhug' or 'Ballyhoo'" (p. 662). Churchill's mind suggests to the reader some enormous, perhaps rather elephantine, engine, equally capable of picking up a locomotive or a safety pin.

University of Michigan

PRESTON SLOSSON

Ancient and Medieval History

THE BIRTH OF CIVILIZATION IN THE NEAR EAST. By *Henri Frankfort*.

(Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1951. Pp. 116. \$4.00.)

THE ancient Near East has now provided material sufficient for a profitable consideration of the broad question of the birth of civilization. Here, in the two

areas of Egypt and Mesopotamia, there arose societies which were far enough above the level of primitive existence to be called civilized and this rise seems to have taken place without the stimulus of contact with more advanced foreigners. For Frankfort, the two mature civilizations were not the result of gradual growth but rather the outcome of a sudden and intense change. In Mesopotamia about the middle of the fourth millennium there appeared suddenly a rapid increase in the size of settlements, monumental architecture in the form of the temple, the invention of writing, representational art, and the mastery of other new techniques. Later, in the Nile Valley, the form of Egyptian civilization began to take shape along lines somewhat parallel. Here too the transition was not gradual, and few things that mattered in later times were without roots in that first burst of creativity.

By Frankfort's definition civilization has two aspects. There is the "form," a core of individuality which, although it may change, is never destroyed. This can best be recognized not at the birth of the particular civilization, but at the peak of its maturity and then traced back to a point when the familiar phenomena are lost sight of entirely. This "form," or consistency of orientation, is difficult to grasp and can be laid hold of only by those who are willing "to meet an alien spirit on its own terms." The other aspect is "dynamics," which he views as the total of the changes which the form undergoes in history. The first chapter of the book is given over to a method of study which the author feels is suitable to the material which the ancient Near East provides. He comes to grip with Spengler, who in his "sensational, arrogant, and pompous volumes," denies the freedom of the human spirit and falls short of understanding the material from the ancient world. Toynbee, Frankfort believes, has come under the influence of evolutionary bias, is preoccupied with a system of categories derived from the crucial period in Western history when the Roman Empire disintegrated, and has come up with observations about the birth of civilization in Egypt and Mesopotamia which are irrelevant. He is more favorably inclined toward the approach of ethnologists, such as Benedict and Malinowski.

In Mesopotamia, the city is given as the key to an understanding of both the birth and the later growth of civilization. Particularly valuable is Frankfort's synthesis of the architectural features of the Mesopotamian city discovered by archaeologists and the social organization of the urban society as it can be described from the religious and economic texts which were written in cuneiform on clay tablets. There were both a planned economy and considerable opportunities for private enterprise in the system. The characteristic pattern of the city state made inevitable the political instability which caused the ultimate downfall of the civilization.

If the key to Mesopotamian civilization is the city, the basis for the social fabric in Egypt may be said to be the pharaoh. He was the living god, to whom authority was willingly delegated, the "living fount of law." This system was not

tyrannical but good, according to Frankfort, when judged within the context of Egyptian civilization. It was a structure evolved through thousands of years and served to give peace and security, which was so sadly lacking in Asia, to ancient Egypt. An appendix presents the evidence for the influence of Mesopotamia on Egypt toward the end of the fourth millennium, but steers clear of the view that Egyptian civilization was dependent upon Mesopotamia.

Frankfort's wide interests and stimulating theories have been combined with telling effect in these lectures to produce a book which will be read with profit far beyond the narrow circle of those interested primarily in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Crozer Theological Seminary

JAMES B. PRITCHARD

HOMER AND THE MONUMENTS. By *H. L. Lorimer*. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1950. Pp. xxiii, 552, plates. \$9.00.)

WHILE this is primarily a book for the specialist, its conclusions will be of great interest to the general scholar, historian, archaeologist, or linguist. Miss Lorimer has fully collected and sifted, for the first time in two generations, the archaeological material of the late Bronze and early Iron Ages which bears on the poems; it is correlated in detail with Homeric descriptions in three long sections on arms and armor, dress, and the house. The background is set by sketches of the development of prehistoric Greece and of the foreign relations of Greece in the late Bronze and early Iron Ages, while the significance of the archaeological material for Homeric problems is discussed in a concluding chapter. In general, Miss Lorimer finds that, while features of the Bronze Age are present in Homer, they are much less considerable than once supposed, but that the archaeological evidence does attest a continuity of poetic tradition down to the latter part of the eighth century. This epic tradition, it is argued, originated on the Greek mainland in Mycenaean times, was preserved in Athens by the Mycenaean nobility who took refuge there, and was carried by them to Ionia when colonization of that region began. The author's position is that of the unitarian who holds that the poems were composed in Ionian Greece in the latter part of the eighth century B.C., but admits a continuous poetic tradition from the late Bronze Age and a partially fluid text from the date of composition to *ca.* 650 B.C.

Miss Lorimer's chief aim, to collect and discuss the pertinent archaeological material and to correlate it with the Homeric descriptions, has certainly been achieved, at least for material available to 1939. The book will be a necessary starting point for further studies of that nature, since it is well documented, has a useful index, and the author's discussion is clear and to the point. At times too much is built on purely archaeological evidence: e.g., the assumption that Athens was a strong naval power in the late eighth century, on the basis of the Late Geometric vase paintings. Points of this nature will be noticed by the users

of the book, but the important groups of material fundamental to the problems are well and fully treated. Some hypotheses, however, seem open to serious question. One such is the role of Athens as a transmitter of the epic tradition to Ionia. While there is a strong literary tradition that Athens was the metropolis of the Ionian colonies, that tradition is not the earliest nor is it that of Asiatic Ionia. Mimnermus of Colophon (Frag. 9, Bergk) knows only of a direct colonization from the Peloponnesus, without any digression to Attica. Miss Lorimer's suggestion that cremation, virtually unknown to Mycenaean burial practice, but the normal form in Homer and in the cemeteries of Assarlik and Colophon in Asia Minor, was developed in Athens by the Mycenaean refugees to prevent despoiling of their dead and by them transferred to Ionia, seems doubtful. Mylonas has pointed out that cremation seems to have been usual in Troy VI, destroyed ca. 1300 B.C. It may have been practiced there later and brought back to Greece by the Achaeans who fought at Troy and found it a convenient practice for the battlefield (*American Journal of Archaeology*, LII [1948], 80). Miss Lorimer finds considerable support for the date of composition in the picture of Greek-Phoenician relations in the *Odyssey*. Their treatment by the poet certainly suggests that he is describing relations contemporary with or slightly older than his own period. Thus, their correct setting is a vital matter. Miss Lorimer follows the conventional dating of Phoenician expansion to the mid-eighth century and later, thus establishing a *terminus* for the composition of the poem. Yet, in the past decade, Albright has argued for a tenth-century date for Phoenician expansion westward, and recently has used the material to arrive at the conclusion that the *Odyssey* was composed before ca. 950 B.C. (*Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, LIV [1950], 172 ff.). Old questions are still open, but Miss Lorimer has given us a valuable block of material with which to work.

University of Chicago

CARL ROEBUCK

THE ORIGINS AND HISTORY OF THE PROCONSULAR AND THE PROPRAETORIAN IMPERIUM TO 27 B.C. By *Wilhelmina Feemster Jashemski*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 174. \$5.00.)

THIS is a very competent doctoral dissertation, clear, accurate, and scholarly. Appropriately, it appears almost at the same time as the first volume of T. R. S. Broughton's exhaustive and definitive work, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, and contributes modestly, as Broughton's does in a large way, toward the achievement of a Republican prosopography to accompany Mommsen's *PIR*. Indeed, Broughton was able to read Jashemski's first draft in time to use its finds in his own work (pp. viii, 257 n.1, 303, 305 n.2, 332 n.6, 514, 528 n.2), while she received in turn the mature criticism of an older scholar (pp. vii, viii).

Jashemski's argument is that the Augustan principate was the culmination of constitutional changes which did not begin, but were merely accelerated, in

the last century of the Republic; that the extraordinary commands of Pompey, for instance, were rooted in much earlier Republican precedents; and that, consequently, the searches for precedent by Mommsen, Meyer, and Boak do not go back far enough. Certainly, the unprecedented nature of some of the later commissions has been overstressed (see, for instance, F. B. Marsh's overstatement on page 100 of his *History of the Roman World, 146-30 B.C.*, and the author's criticism of it on page 92). But, in seeking support for her thesis, the author also exaggerates. For instance, in making the career of Scipio Africanus the prototype of Pompey's, Jashemski misses the two points in which Pompey's authority differs from Scipio's, and which make *all* the difference: (1) Pompey's *imperium proconsulare* was initially (and not merely by a succession of annual grants) conferred upon him for a period longer than one year; and (2) the extent of Pompey's authority was defined to exceed the limits of a single province.

Again, it is not correct to say that "the theory back of *prorogatio* was that a man who was not a magistrate was allowed to act 'as a magistrate'" (p. 20), but rather that a man who was a magistrate was empowered to continue to act as a magistrate beyond his normal term by an extension of his authority in time.

In at least two places, the author throws light upon matters in dispute. On pages 41-47, she raises the question at issue between Mommsen and Wilsdorf (*Fasti Hispaniarum Provinciarum*) with regard to the proper title of the Spanish governors, and settles it conclusively in favor of Mommsen, *viz*: that all the praetors and propraetors in Spain served *proconsule*.

Again, on pages 49-52, in investigating the nature of the *imperium* of Q. Caecilius Metellus, the first governor of Macedonia, the author writes a valuable commentary on the meaning of the Greek phrase στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος, in which she persuasively argues that it signifies any magistrate holding proconsular power, and thus rejects both Mommsen's narrow interpretation (*praetor proconsule*), and Holleaux's wider extension of the term to include all Roman magistrates other than consuls.

On page 91, line 20, should not *χαὶ* be read *καὶ*?

Ohio State University

W. F. McDONALD

THE ITALIC REGIONS FROM AUGUSTUS TO THE LOMBARD INVASIONS. By *Rudi Thomsen*. [Classica et Mediaevalia, Dissertationes IV.] (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel. 1947. Pp. 339, vi. 30 kr.)

It is generally admitted that the division of Italy into eleven regions by Augustus exerted an enduring influence on the form of the later organization of Italy throughout the Roman Empire and into more recent times, but the precise boundaries of the original regions and the exact relations of the later transformations to them has remained in need of closer analysis and discussion. The task is one of extraordinary difficulty, for it involves a fresh analysis of such sources

as Pliny's description of Italy and the *Liber Coloniarius*, the exact boundaries at several periods are very hard to define for lack of evidence, and the purpose of many of the successive changes remains in doubt. Some of the earlier studies, even those of Mommsen, were vitiated by an incorrect estimate of Pliny and of the *Liber Coloniarius*, and it has required a closer definition of the exact boundaries of the individual Italic peoples and tribes, such as those of Beloch, and more recently of Afzelius, to provide a sound approach to the problem. This comprehensive and carefully argued monograph by Dr. Thomsen has met that problem with a very considerable measure of success.

The work is divided into two parts, of which Part I is devoted to the study of the Augustan regions and Part II to the later organization. The first chapter presents an attractive interpretation of Pliny: the source of his alphabetic lists had nothing to do with the Augustan regions; it was an earlier Augustan list based on the tribal groupings and drawn up either for the purposes of the census or as a preliminary to Agrippa's map; and hence arose repetitions and inconsistencies when he adapted it to his account of the Augustan regions without realizing how far Augustus had been influenced by natural geographic boundaries. A second chapter shows the inadequacy of Ptolemy as a source, and the third, the main chapter in this part, subjects the boundaries of the various regions to detailed critical examination. Uncertainties, such as the attribution of Metapontum to Region II or Region III, are clearly marked, and a number of corrections are made of former lists: Bergomum should probably be included in Region X, and Forum Vibi in Region XI. The inclusion of Emona in Region X seems more dubious.

In Part II the first chapter reviews the relation of the Augustan regions to the juridical districts, and distinguishes three "permanent" forms of these: they were based on the Augustan organization but were necessarily modified because the sphere of the urban prefect was artificially set within one hundred miles of the city. Other administrative units, those for the *vicesima hereditatum*, and after a time even the domanial districts, were in some degree based on the regions of Augustus, which through all these, and particularly through the juridical districts, finally conditioned the form of the provinces of the *correctores* under the Later Empire. These provinces are examined in the final chapters, first in the light of the inscriptions, the imperial constitutions, and the provincial lists, and then, after an elaborate analysis, in the light of the *Liber Coloniarius*. The final chapter is especially valuable for its analysis of the tradition which created this work, judiciously taking a stand between the skepticism of Mommsen and the too great confidence of Pais. The second edition, he holds, is of quite subsidiary value, but the first has in it a good tradition from the days of Augustus and Tiberius, if he is the Nero Claudius named, through Balbus in the age of Trajan, and represents in its final compilation the provincial division of the early fourth century. This analysis, though applied particularly to the problem of the regions,

has already proved valuable for other problems too (see now, Castagnoli, in *Bull. Comm.*, LXXII [1946-48], Append. 50-58).

The strength of Dr. Thomsen's study lies in its thorough and acute analysis of the sources, and its careful definition of the original and the later regional organizations. Two major questions remain unsolved: the first is the purpose of the Augustan organization, for no close organic relation in time or even in space to the administration of the *vicesima hereditatum* is clearly proved; and the second is the reasons for the many later changes that can be traced and described. The decision to publish a work so clearly valuable to scholars in many lands in an international language, in this case English, can only be applauded, but it is a pity that the translation has at times prevented arguments from being presented with gradation and balance, and has rendered many passages awkward, some even obscure.

Bryn Mawr College

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

WEST ROMAN VULGAR LAW: THE LAW OF PROPERTY. By *Ernst Levy*, Professor of Law, History, and Political Science, University of Washington. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 29.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1951. Pp. xix, 305. \$5.00.)

ANY contribution to our knowledge of Roman law from the pen of Professor Ernst Levy, long established as one of the most eminent students of this discipline, is bound to be significant, illuminating, and provocative. The present monograph possesses these properties to a high degree and fulfills all expectations of the reader. It presents a comprehensive treatment of the law of property in West Roman vulgar law. Thus it marks another milestone in the author's long endeavors to uncover and reconstruct this important body of law, and at the same time rounds out and consolidates his previous studies on various phases of the same subject dispersed in a truly international array of publications.

West Roman vulgar law was that body of law which flourished in the West from the post-classical period—about A.D. 240—until it was amalgamated with and absorbed by the laws of the Germanic states. In the east an analogous body existed but was superseded by the neoclassicism of Justinian's reform. Professor Levy takes great pains to place into distinct relief the true character of this vulgar law (which is not even perfunctorily defined by use of the labels "postclassical" or "pre-Justinian") and to differentiate the eastern and western brands. The western law, of course, forms the author's chief focus of attention, and appropriately so, because it was this body of law which influenced directly the course of subsequent European legal history and civilization. The full measure of this influence certainly deserves some further careful study. Professor Levy (understandably but regrettably) had to content himself largely with the brief statement: "As late as the eighth century, the Frankish collections of *formulae* and the

Lex Romana Curiensis furnish striking proof of its continuing efficacy and strength." Now, it has been known for a long time that the Frankish *formulae* were one of the models of the Anglo-Norman writs, and Fritz Schulz has recently re-emphasized this fact, in a brilliant article, in reference to the early general handmaid of royal justice, the writ "*precipe quod reddat*" ("The Writ 'Precipe Quod Reddat' and Its Continental Models," *Juridical Review*, LIV [1942], 1). In the light of this connection between West Roman vulgar and the early common law the present monograph gains a special interest also for the legal historian of not purely romanistic bent.

Professor Levy discusses West Roman vulgar law of property from four fundamental aspects: concept, limitations in the public interest, acquisition, and judicial enforcement (remedies). In each of these chapters the author works out the pertinent details and complex ramifications of the specific topic. His amazing though now well-known mastery of the sources, his superb skill in unraveling hopelessly intertwined strands of development and his imaginative manipulation of the various layers of evolution succeed in giving the reader an almost four-dimensional (time, of course, being the fourth dimension) picture of the transformation of the legal institution called "property" under the impact of changing economic, social, and intellectual conditions. Thus the author traces minutely but lucidly the corrosion of the classical differentiation between the obligatory transaction and the act of transfer of ownership in performance thereof and the ensuing coalescence of the underlying contract with the passage of the title envisaged thereby, especially for the sale and the donation. Similarly illuminating and, in a way, fascinating is his careful account of the eclipse of the classical antithesis of *actiones in rem* and *actiones in personam* and the transformation of the classical *actio in rem*, predicated strictly on title, into an action for the *res ipsa* regardless of the nature of the right entitling the plaintiff thereto. Happily the author in this case contrasts in detail the position of the vulgar law in that respect with the early Germanic approach and shows how the pre-Frankish and Frankish law completely rejected the vulgar proprietary action and transformed all actions except those based on contract into those of a tortious nature, predicated all liability of the defendant on the reason "that he *malo ordine invasisset* or, at least, *malo ordine retineret, teneret, possideret*." Since this is very nearly the status of the early English writ system in the days of Glanvill with its still broad and untechnical concept of trespass (*transgressio*) and the "*deforciat*" as the gist of the undifferentiated actions of debt and detinue alike, again Professor Levy's researches are invaluable for the understanding of the early phase of the English post-Conquest law.

In the opinion of the reviewer, Professor Levy's contribution is one of first magnitude. It is not only the masterful and undoubtedly in many respects final discussion of an important phase of western legal history but it also opens innumerable vistas for the explanation of puzzling problems in later eras. Thus

it is actually much broader than its title indicates and amounts to an important chapter in a much needed "Universal History of Occidental Law." It is hoped that the second part of the work dealing with contracts and torts will follow in short order.

University of Minnesota

STEFAN A. RIESENFELD

FROM DOMESDAY BOOK TO MAGNA CARTA, 1087-1216. By *Austin Lane Poole*, President of St. John's College, Oxford. [Oxford History of England.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xv, 541. \$5.00.)

THIS is the first comprehensive treatment of this period of English history which has appeared for several years. It is more comprehensive than its predecessors such as the works of Adams, Davis, and Ramsay. The main topics are the manner of life of the king and his household, of barons and knights and of dwellers in country and in town throughout the whole period (chaps. I-III), the relations with Normandy 1087-1135 (IV), Stephen's reign (V), church and state primarily to 1189 (VI, VII), learning, literature, and art of the whole period (VIII), relations with Scotland, Ireland, and Wales during the whole period (IX), the Angevin empire 1154-1204 (X, XI), justice and finance principally of the reigns of Henry I and Henry II (XII), and the reign of John 1204-1216 (XIII, XIV). There is also a select critical bibliography. The arrangement provides an effective basis for the understanding of the period as a whole. If one is interested in a particular phase, such as the constitutional development, it may be necessary to hunt a little to find the whole story, but the material is so well organized that the search presents no difficulty.

The narrative is based on thorough research. It incorporates the results of the numerous monographs and articles which have added so much to our knowledge of various aspects of the subject. It also profits greatly from the author's extensive and intensive knowledge of the original sources. The pipe rolls and the plea rolls, for example, are utilized, on a scale which is rare, to illumine and enlarge our knowledge of many developments other than the financial and the judicial. It is a convincing demonstration of the interesting and important information which the dry bones of such records can be made to yield.

The new points of view and the new facts presented cannot be specified within a reasonable amount of space, but they may be illustrated. The portrayal of the life of the times presents many new details and produces a picture which is exceptionally good. The judgments of the personalities and characters of some of the rulers of the period are different from those which have been customary. Henry I and Henry II are depicted in darker colors and John in a comparatively light shade of gray. The author has to deal extensively with wars. He describes most medieval campaigns as "a haphazard series of sieges of castles interrupted by an occasional clash of arms in the open" (p. 465), but he succeeds in presenting

the essential causes, course, and results of one campaign after another with a clarity which gives them meaning. His estimate of the devastation caused by the wars of Stephen's reign is a particularly enlightening example. With regard to the great charter he thinks that the barons who led the movement for it were a bad lot, and he takes a rather more favorable view of John's part in the negotiations with the barons than has been held generally.

Occasional details might perhaps be amended. It is not incorrect to say that tallages could be imposed on unfree tenants on the royal demesne (p. 6), but they could be levied also from the free tenants other than the townsmen, and elsewhere the phrase "demesne tenants" is used (p. 418). In such a work as this one does not expect an exposition of the controversy over the authenticity of *Laudabiliter*, but to accept the conclusions of Orpen without mention of Thatcher (p. 303, n. 1) seems hardly fair to the reader. Likewise the possibility might be noted that the letter in which Henry II purports to acknowledge the feudal superiority of the pope in 1173 (p. 458) may be a forgery. The statement that the quarter raised for the ransom of Richard I was levied on both revenues and chattels (p. 365) is not documented, but it must rest on Roger de Hoveden (III, 210). Elsewhere Roger calls it a fourth of revenues, as do other contemporary chroniclers. These and a few other counsels of perfection which might be offered do not affect my opinion that the work is a fine product of scholarly research which will be a fundamental guide to all who wish to understand the history of the period.

Haverford College

W. E. LUNT

Modern European History

LA CRISE RELIGIEUSE DU XVI^e SIÈCLE. By *E. de Moreau*, de l'Académie royale de Belgique, *Pierre Jourda*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Montpellier, and *Pierre Janelle*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Clermont-Ferrand. [Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, tome XVI.] (Paris: Bloud & Gay. 1950. Pp. 461. 960 fr.)

THE sixteenth volume of the "Histoire de l'Eglise," edited by Augustin Fliche and Eugène Jarry in co-operation with a group of French and Belgian Catholic scholars, deals with "the religious crisis of the sixteenth century." Most scholars would probably reserve this title for the treatment of the general transformation of the Christian faith and of Christian church institutions that took place at the end of the Middle Ages and expressed itself not only in Protestantism but also in humanism and certain Renaissance philosophies. The crisis was resolved both in the creation of Protestant churches and in a reform of the Roman

Catholic church. The volume under review deals exclusively with the origins and spread of Protestantism in Europe, while the Roman Catholic forces are mentioned only insofar as they appear as effective opponents to Protestantism. The term "religious crisis" is thus used in a more limited sense than has become customary. But the title expresses the intention of the authors to interpret the growth of Protestantism not as the result of religious degeneracy or political conspiracy but as the upshot of genuinely religious developments.

Roman Catholic and Protestant historians cannot be expected to reach agreement on a large number of fundamental problems of Reformation research. But it has fortunately proved possible to narrow down the field of controversy and to achieve a mutual understanding of the basic differences in historical interpretation. Substantial progress has been made in this direction during the last fifty, and particularly thirty, years. Common opposition to modern secular liberalism was an important element in originally repressing reckless denominational polemics. The common experience of modern totalitarianism has been a fresh cause of renewed efforts to reappraise the inner motives of the religious struggle of the sixteenth century. Joseph Lortz's work on the German Reformation (Freiburg, 1939-40; 3d ed., 1949-50), written by an orthodox Roman Catholic theologian, is a good example of this trend.

It is a happy event that the volume under review supports the endeavors of modern Reformation scholars to interpret the origins of Protestantism in genuinely religious terms. Protestants, no doubt, will not feel satisfied with many statements on individual issues. They will argue that the authors of the volume do not pay enough attention to the Protestant attempt at a revival of the original Christian faith. They also may complain that too much emphasis is placed upon the temporary nature of the secularization of the Roman church or on the psychological and intellectual handicaps of the Protestant reformers. Though it would be misleading to pass over these and many other differences of opinion, there is every good reason to applaud the earnest scholarly spirit of the writers.

The book comprises three separate studies. The first one, by E. de Moreau, deals with Luther and Lutheranism, while the second, on Calvin and Calvinism, was written by P. Jourda except for one of the six chapters, in which E. de Moreau deals with the Netherlands. P. Janelle is the author of the third section, on Henry VIII and Anglicanism. The three contributors are equally competent in their fields. Together they have created a handbook of the history of sixteenth-century Protestantism that will be of value to historians for a long time to come. Students of general history may perhaps regret the conservatively rigid concept of the task of church history writing to which the authors adhere. The general intellectual history is approached almost exclusively through the theological doctrines of the official churches. Humanism, as a movement outside and beyond the churches, and also the free Protestant groups, receive scant treatment. More could also have been done with the interplay of religious and social forces. But within

the framework of ecclesiastical history the three authors have given us a work of great learning and broad understanding.

Yale University

Hajo Holborn

LORD CHESTERFIELD AND HIS WORLD. By *Samuel Shellabarger*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1951. Pp. 456. \$5.00.)

THIS book was first published in England sixteen years ago. It now appears in America with few textual changes. The achievement of Dr. Shellabarger reminds us that he is indeed a scholar, a Harvard doctor of philosophy who wrote a thesis in Anglo-Saxon. His research and study in the lacquered age of the eighteenth century have obviously been arduous and disciplined. His ideas are presented with skill and armored with knowledge. The result is a happy and unusual combination of honest scholarship and human prose.

Most of the urbane individuals in Lord Chesterfield's world agreed that the virtues might be looked at but the graces must be cultivated. The curtains were thick but the women were not pure. Some, of course, doubted these values: Lady Francis Shirley, Chesterfield's mistress, turned Methodist; Melusina, Chesterfield's wife, so comfortable, dull, and kind; John Wesley, whose parish was not the court of the Georges.

With vivid and elaborate artistry Dr. Shellabarger cleverly shows how Chesterfield moves in his age with hardened soul and unrevealing eyes. His lordship's cold breath and schooled face are everywhere. His flawless fibers never let him show emotion. "I am sure that since I have had the full use of my senses, no one has heard me laugh." Groomed, careful, precise as a dancer in a minuet, Chesterfield travels through his joyless decades: patriot, ambassador, lord lieutenant of Ireland, secretary of state.

When Chesterfield played cards at White's he always lost. He also failed when he played for bigger stakes. Old, deaf, toothless, writing nauseating flattery to the young earl of Huntingdon, he was finally forced to surrender power and place. His illegitimate son Philip, who received a thousand famous letters, failed in everything: he upset the gooseberries at a formal dinner, mumbled in the House of Commons, married a base-born woman, sickened and died in a starveling post in Ratisbon. Lord Chesterfield did not groan. That would have been inconsistent. He began the education of his grandsons.

There is no doubt of Dr. Shellabarger's passionate interest in his subject. He tries to write with integrity and he usually succeeds. Nevertheless, when he comes to the famous dictionary incident he is, I think, unfair to Dr. Johnson. It is surely not fully defensible to call Dr. Johnson "dishonest" or to refer to his "mischievous pen." Dr. Shellabarger is also unjust to Jonathan Swift. About Lord Chesterfield he says: "The main issue is to accept or reject that way of the world he so bluntly expressed." Chesterfield "accepted" that world and its art of life and ended by

throttling life itself. All spirit dies in his bleak lordship's arctic. What, then, can Dr. Shellabarger mean by "the frank realism" of Chesterfield? Is it realism to believe that a good society is the society the "best people" believe to be good? Does all value depend upon the opinion of somebody else? That is the heart of the matter.

Wayne University

GOLDWIN SMITH

HUSKISSON AND HIS AGE. By C. R. Fay. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1951. Pp. xv, 398. \$6.50.)

MR. Fay might have done a good turn to his readers and himself if he had prefaced his volume by a more extensive introductory note, perhaps even an *apologia pro libro suo*. For this is a book which, for all its considerable merits, demands of the reader a certain sympathetic understanding. It is not a conventional biography, no orderly view of Huskisson's life or times. What we have, rather, is a highly individual approach to biographical writing, almost a series of jottings—discursive, wayward, and at points brilliantly suggestive—on Huskisson's milieu, interests, and associates. One can hardly criticize Mr. Fay for not having produced a less casually organized biography. This is obviously the kind of book he wanted to write, and, just as obviously, he thoroughly enjoyed his assignment.

The prefatory chapter entitled "15 September 1830" sets the tone. Instead of being presented to the hero in the usual fashion, by way of his background, parentage, and youth, the reader first encounters him on the occasion of his sudden and dramatic death. This reversal of chronology is, I think, a sound enough artistic device. There was tragic symbolism in Huskisson's death under the wheels of Stephenson's *Rocket* at the opening of the Liverpool & Manchester. But, oddly enough, Mr. Fay uses the accident less as an introduction to the age of Huskisson than as the occasion for an inquiry into the origins and infancy of the Liverpool & Manchester Railway Company. This is an interesting chapter, not least because of the concluding paragraphs, "If only the *Rocket* had been stopped in time," in which Mr. Fay ventures some speculations on the later career of a Huskisson who might have lived into the mid-forties. Yet the kind of detail and documentation that has been included in the chapter, absorbing as it is, seems out of place in the introduction to a work as spaciouly conceived as this.

Mr. Fay was drawn to the study of Huskisson by his own interest in the economy of the British Empire, which was first aroused at the University of Toronto and developed during his period of service at Cambridge. The present volume, the first of two, provides the background for a later examination of Huskisson's commercial and imperial statesmanship in the 1820's. No one can complain that Mr. Fay has restricted his researches, documentary or otherwise. He has accumulated a formidable mass of material, both official and personal,

and it is clear that he has read his sources with relish, whether or not they bore immediately on his subject. Nor has he hesitated to explore some moderately distant fields. For example, the curious and fascinating chapter entitled "Woods, Forests, and Crown Lands" which nominally has to do with Huskisson's term as "estates bursar" turns out to be a monograph on the administration of crown lands in the early nineteenth century, in which is incorporated an eight-page digression on the crown lands, "From Edward the Confessor to 1950"! Here Mr. Fay has exploited such novel and unlikely-sounding material as the Wood Book of the Treasury.

Mr. Fay has not been content merely to examine the documentary sources. He has cycled over the Huskisson counties and explored the Huskisson Thames-side; he has followed his subject to commercial Liverpool and agricultural Sussex. And although he leaves unanswered many legitimate questions about Huskisson, he does implant in the reader a certain sense of familiarity with the statesman and his age. In short, it is in incidentals rather than essentials that this study scores most tellingly—the excursion into the economics of the salt trade, the brief essays on such worthies as Sturges Bourne and James Deacon Hume, the re-creation of the Liverpool mercantile community in the early century, notably the elder Gladstone. No doubt in the volume that is to follow, the qualities and achievements of Huskisson himself will come into sharper focus than they do in this untidy, rewarding book.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

LLOYD GEORGE. By *Thomas Jones*. [Makers of Modern Europe, Volume IV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 330. \$5.00.)

READING Roy Harrod's life of Keynes and Thomas Jones's *Lloyd George* on alternate evenings, one could not help being struck by the similarities of the two men, so brilliantly and warmly drawn in these two books, though superficially no two were less alike. They crossed each other's paths several times; both left their mark on their generations; both were quick, intuitive, clever, with the baffling elisions of genius; and both, we might feel in this second generation of disenchantment, left nothing but barren leaves: the one a transient peace treaty which the other did much to discredit, Keynes a theory of employment which gives no guidance to the problems of postwar "full employment." Where is now Lloyd George's victory in the First World War, his Irish treaty, the Liberal party he helped to strangle, the concert of Europe he tried to restore? Where the loan to Britain which Keynes wore himself out to win? Yet no man who held the highest office in times of peril, and won through, is a study in futility; no original thinker like Keynes fails to add to the world's slender stock of ideas.

Thomas Jones's book is by far the best sketch of Lloyd George we can hope to get: compressed, full of fiber, a brilliant evocation of a living personality.

Its great merit is to portray Lloyd George in all his greatness and his weakness, to show him warts and all. And for Lloyd George, more than for many statesmen (but like others such as Franklin Roosevelt) this task must be done by one who knew him, so much of the man being expressed in talk and action rather than letters, in speeches to be heard, not read. There have been many books on Lloyd George already; two others since his death. J. Hugh Edwards will tell you more of his early life; Mallet will give you a better criticism of the fallen angel of Liberalism; Spender a warm, contemporary appreciation; E. T. Raymond the friendly judgment of a shrewd journalist and an endearing picture of his home life. A. J. Sylvester's *The Real Lloyd George*, the work of his personal secretary, shows "the Chief *en déshabillé*," as Jones says (p. 280), with all the best anecdotes; Malcolm Thomson's *David Lloyd George: The Official Biography*, the work of another secretary, is fuller but less critical, less revealing than Jones's work, and valuable chiefly for the sketch of Lloyd George by his second wife, long his secretary. And of course we have Lloyd George's own account of the war and the peace, in eight solid volumes, based on his own papers.

What does Jones add? Alone of all Lloyd George's biographers he has fullness of knowledge, experience of life. Teacher and lecturer, then a civil servant and member of the cabinet secretariat from 1916 to 1930, friend and confidant of four prime ministers, secretary of the Pilgrim Trust, who can know more of the last fifty years in Great Britain, whether of public life or of politics from within—unless it be Lord Hankey or, on a different level, Sir Horace Wilson? Not, needless to say, that he betrays any confidences or draws on any secret memorandums; but as a participant at the center of events he has an advantage no other biographer of Lloyd George can have. Beyond that, he cites on occasion recollections from his own diary and from Lord Hankey's unpublished "Supreme Command"; and he has read and quotes felicitously from all the multitudinous memoirs, biographies, and studies of the time. The bibliography, enriched by all-too-few critical comments, is the best we have for the period. Only the illustrations are disappointing; the best picture of Lloyd George we are given is put on the jacket.

The book is a masterpiece of condensation, and gives a more vivid picture of all phases of Lloyd George's life than other works which are fuller for certain periods. The gradual revelation of Lloyd George's scintillating character is unsurpassed, as much in numerous stray passages as in the final chapter on "The Man." As a speaker, administrator, conversationalist, writer of memoirs, Lloyd George is shown as he was, as he worked (not as he thought: for as the embroidered text at the head of his bed in Downing Street had it, "There is a path which no fowl knoweth and which the eye of the vulture hath not seen" [Job 28:7]). There is no slurring over his weaknesses: witness the accounts of the Marconi episode, of his dealings with the Irish in 1916 (p. 82), with Haig and Robertson and concerning the Passchendaele campaign in 1917 (pp. 113, 118-22), the Lloyd

George Fund (pp. 203, 222-25, 288), his affluent circumstances in later life (p. 279), his misjudgment of Hitler (p. 248), his defeatism during the Second World War. His advent to the prime ministership is summarized in Churchill's words after his death: "Presently, Lloyd George seized the main power in the State . . ." (Hon. Members: "Seized?") "Seized." ("Hear, hear.") "I think it was Carlyle who said of Oliver Cromwell: 'He coveted the place; perhaps the place was his'" (p. 86). There is little told that is new: some details of administration during Lloyd George's prime ministership (pp. 95 ff.), the effects of the juxtaposition of Numbers 10 and 11 Downing Street in strengthening and, after 1915, dissolving the bonds between Lloyd George and Asquith (p. 61), Lloyd George's light-hearted departure from Number 10 in 1922 (p. 200). If there is a weakness, it is in the omission of more than very brief mention of the industrial troubles and the problems of decontrol in the postwar coalition. His final claims to greatness Jones puts as his prewar social measures and that he was, in Smuts's words, "the supreme architect of victory" (p. 290); to which one might add only the reconstruction and enlargement of government as the result of his wartime improvisations. Among British leaders of this century only Churchill, so like him and yet so different, is his equal.

University of Chicago

C. L. MOWAT

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND GREAT BRITAIN, 1908-1914. With an Introductory Chapter on the diplomatic relations between Austria and England up to 1908. By *Alfred Francis Pribram*. Translated by *Ian F. D. Morrow*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 328. \$4.50.)

DR. Pribram was born in London in 1859 and died near there in 1942, but he spent the greater part of his life as professor of history in Vienna. He was as at home in the British Public Record Office as in the Austrian archives, and he loved both countries. It was therefore not unnatural that, in the evening of his long life, in exile from Austria because of his Jewish blood, he should write this account of the relations—generally friendly—of Austria-Hungary and Great Britain. It is now well translated, except for some misprints and misspelled names, by his literary executor.

The first chapter, "Through Seven Centuries," is a masterly *tour de force* sketching in fifty-seven pages Austro-English relations from Richard Coeur de Lion and Leopold V of Babenberg to 1908. Then, believing rightly that individuals "have decisively influenced the course of history," especially so in the case of diplomatic history, he gives discriminating thumbnail estimates of Francis Joseph, Edward VII, and George V, and their foreign officials and ambassadors during the years 1908-1914. These profiles are interesting and valuable, not only because of the weight of Pribram's authority and his familiarity with their work but also because of his personal acquaintance with many of the men,

He brings out well that Grey often differed in opinion from Hardinge, Nicolson, and Crowe, and acted independently on his own judgment with the single-minded aim of preventing any outbreak of war. Pribram's estimates of Aehrenthal and Berchtold, however, seem to the reviewer to be too favorable. Many passages seem to suggest a nostalgic desire to defend the policy of the old Austria that he loved and to justify it in accordance with the dictum which he cites from another of his books: "Better a fearful end than endless fears" (p. 229).

Three chapters on the Bosnian Crisis, the Balkan wars, and the outbreak of war fulfill the expectation of the title. The diplomatic relations between Austria-Hungary and Great Britain are narrated in such detail that there is a good deal of rather tiresome repetition of each country's viewpoints. Furthermore, the narrative has an air of unreality because almost nothing is said of the activities of the other Great Powers. For instance, only a sentence is given to the so-called German ultimatum which virtually solved the Bosnian Crisis, and nothing at all to the Moltke-Conrad exchanges of confidence in 1909 and July, 1914. Austria and England occupy the stage mostly alone, and the dialogue is almost exclusively between them. This no doubt explains why Pribram relies mainly on the Gooch and Temperley documents and the Austrian collection which he himself edited, and makes virtually no use of the French and Russian documentary collections. He does, however, cite many secondary works, often in cases where he might better have referred to the original diplomatic dispatches. His book is useful as giving the carefully considered interpretation of a great scholar to a narrow segment of pre-1914 history, but for a well-rounded view, complete with all the actors speaking, one had best turn to the works of B. E. Schmitt, E. C. Helmreich, and others.

Harvard University

SIDNEY B. FAY

THE HAPSBURG MONARCHY, 1867-1914. By *Arthur J. May*, Professor of History in the University of Rochester. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 532. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR May has thrown away a good title. The lands of the house of Habsburg were without a name for most of their history; but in the period which this book covers, they became "Austria-Hungary," and it would have defined the subject more precisely if this name had been used. For the Habsburg monarchy was the external structure which counted in the relations of the Great Powers, while after 1867 there were two additional themes, the internal politics of Hungary and of "the other Imperial half." It is perhaps impossible to weld the three stories into one. Certainly Mr. May has not attempted it. Each chapter is an independent essay; and, as well, the chapters on social and cultural development stand apart from the others.

The chapters on domestic politics are the most successful. They give a sound

account of political developments in both halves of the monarchy, though without much discrimination. There are no serious errors, though Mr. May does not seem to have grasped the intricacies of Taaffe's fall. It is only technically true that he "resigned"; he was thrust out by Francis Joseph, when his policy threatened to create a parliamentary coalition in opposition. More seriously, these chapters need to be tied up with the chapters on social questions. When social history is treated as "history with the politics left out," it becomes merely a string of anecdotes; and, on the reverse side, political history without social factors becomes a catalogue of individuals. This has happened here. The study of national development is little more than a procession of leading writers. The historian would be more interested to know who read them. There is no discrimination between the nationalities—little to suggest that some of them had a long and proud history, some no history at all. One nationality was led by a historic aristocracy, another by university professors, and a third by regimental officers. Only confusion follows if they are all described in the same terms.

In truth, if we are to make sense of the history of Austria-Hungary, we need fewer facts and more figures. Mr. May's book is good old-fashioned literary history, with agreeable phrases instead of statistics. How the historian can absorb figures yet make his book readable is a hard problem, but it must be done if historical studies are to advance. For instance, we need here precise figures of the national populations and of their changes—the proportions in town and country, the income level, the respective shares in industry and government. One could go on indefinitely. A comparison of this book with, say, Mr. Ensor's comparable volume in the *Oxford History of England* will bring out the fatal effects of imprecision.

Mr. May reserves his general comments to the end. Then he suggests that "all Hapsburg citizens benefited from living in the largest free-trade area in all Europe." This is only true of those in the advanced industrial districts. The inhabitants of Croatia or Slovakia would have benefited from protection, as they did between the wars. Still he does not make much of this argument. Instead he concludes that the principal force holding the monarchy together was the common loyalty of the army. This is good sense. The Habsburg monarchy never meant much more than an organization for providing an army of Great Power standards. And by 1914 even the army was the most ramshackle in Europe; in the First World War it could not defeat even the Italians.

Oxford, England

A. J. P. TAYLOR

GERMAN AGRARIAN POLITICS AFTER BISMARCK'S FALL: THE FORMATION OF THE FARMERS' LEAGUE. By *Sarah Rebecca Tirrell*, Assistant Professor of History, University of Omaha. [Studies in History,

Economics, and Public Law, No. 566.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 354. \$4.50.)

AMERICAN students of German history have long known at least the outlines of the subject of the volume under review: the effort of Bismarck's successor, Caprivi, to increase German industrial exports by means of commercial treaties, which reduced the tariffs on German imports, especially foodstuffs; the bitter opposition which this policy aroused among German farmers and landowners and the organization of the *Bund der Landwirte* (Farmers' League); and the fall of Caprivi within a few months of the climax of his policy in the Reichstag's approval of the treaty with Russia in March, 1894.

Miss Tirrell's study of these developments is based on wide research in German sources. Her book has broadened the reviewer's knowledge of both the internal and external aspects of Caprivi's chancellorship. Still it fails to realize the potentialities of the subject. Miss Tirrell never lifts her eyes from the facts. The opposing groups are analyzed, their motives considered, their maneuvers recounted in detail. Yet the heat and fury of the conflict are left largely to the imagination of the reader.

More serious than this monograph's shortcomings as a narrative is its lack of penetration, and this at some points at which its material is potentially most valuable. In this connection, the reviewer is obliged to remark that the author has failed to utilize the brilliant work of Eckart Kehr, *Schlachtflottenbau und Parteipolitik* (Berlin, 1930), and that while Pauline R. Anderson's *The Background of Anti-English Feeling in Germany, 1890-1902* (Washington, 1939) is cited, its insights are ignored. For instance, Miss Tirrell points out the connection between the commercial treaties with Italy and Austria-Hungary and the renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1891 and also the impetus which commercial and political differences with Russia gave to negotiation of the treaty with this country. She neglects, however, to explore the relationship, which Kehr and Mrs. Anderson have illuminated, between the acute social tensions within the Reich and its foreign policy.

Again, Miss Tirrell fails to deal explicitly with an issue raised by Kehr, namely, that whereas the agrarian agitation against the commercial treaties emphasized the depressing effect of grain imports on prices, the chief reason for the severity of the difficulties of the middling large landowners east of the Elbe was their long-continued and systematic effort to raise and maintain land prices at artificially high levels. This omission is the more regrettable since in other respects the reviewer has learned most from Miss Tirrell's evidence on the agricultural depression and her demonstration from the Reichstag votes on the Rumanian and Russian treaties that the opposition thereto derived fewer votes from the East Elbian provinces, in which the large landowners predominated, than from western and southern Germany where middling and small holdings were more nearly the rule.

On the whole, Miss Tirrell has contributed what is less a book than the materials for a book. She has, however, given reason to hope for more enlightening use of her materials in the future.

Brown University

SINCLAIR W. ARMSTRONG

VNESHNAIA POLITIKA I DIPLOMATIIA GERMANSKOGO IMPERIALISMA V KONTSE XIX VEKA [The Foreign Policy and Diplomacy of German Imperialism at the End of the Nineteenth Century]. By *A. S. Yerusalimskii*. (2d ed.; Moscow: Academy of Sciences. 1951. Pp. 604.)

THIS study, first published in 1948, came out in 1951 in a second, slightly enlarged edition which is more legibly printed than the first one. The work is a comprehensive and, in its manner, objective study of one of the most complicated phases in the history of German diplomacy and of Wilhelminian imperialism, comprising roughly the last six years of the nineteenth century. While following the Stalin line both in his sociological analysis of imperialism and in his economic theory as such, the author also shows considerable qualities as a scholar in the not doctrine-bound sense of this word. He pictures with care the individual characteristics and the gradual historical evolution of the personalities and social groups he analyzes. He puts unusual emphasis on the study of mere *Machtpolitik* (while of course not losing sight of its socio-economic background) and displays a rare knowledge of the entire Western literature on this topic, as well as of the printed sources and of all collections of documents available to him, both printed and unprinted. Fortunately, all non-Russian works and articles he uses are quoted, both in his footnotes and in his bibliography, in their original language and in Latin characters, which will make his collection of material valuable for readers and scholars not familiar with the Russian language.

Among the highlights of this study are the author's presentations of the Transvaal problem, of German naval policy, of the internal relations of the Triple in the 1890's, and of the Turko-Greek War as well as his analysis of the Bagdad Railway question and, especially, of the Far Eastern problem and of the Anglo-German collaboration against Russia in Asia. In analyzing the last-mentioned topics, especially the Bagdad Railway and in some other chapters of his book, the author uses much unprinted material from Russian archives, including the reports of the Russian ambassador in Berlin, Count Osten-Saken. In this way, Yerusalimskii has been able to fill one of the major gaps left in the *Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette* (in which the Far Eastern policy and especially the pre-history of the Kiao-chow occupation are sadly neglected) and to present a painstaking—even if not edifying—picture of the way in which the Germans dealt with the Tsungli Yamen. The course of German diplomacy in China revealed here is the most outstanding example of the cut-throat diplomacy of pre-1914 imperialism that the reviewer has seen and thus is of historical impor-

tance, though this activity did not reach the level of the somewhat highbrow concept of *Kabinettspolitik* which guided the editors of the *Grosse Politik* in selecting their documents. Through Yerusalimskii's investigation the imperial German policy of playing England against Russia and vice versa and of thus blackmailing both, a policy euphemistically called "Die Politik der Freien Hand," has been brought into better focus than ever before. Even in those parts of his work where mostly Western sources are used, as for instance in his analysis of the Austrian interior problem in the time of the fight against the Badeni language directives, in his description of the Prussian policy toward the Poles and, to a still greater extent, in his analysis of the Transvaal and naval problems, the author, partly because of the general Russian interest in the first-mentioned questions and partly because of his broad erudition, gives an interesting presentation and brings to light neglected aspects and facts.

As the USSR seldom encourages and sponsors important studies unless they serve some practical purpose, it is to be assumed that a work such as this and the prominence given to it, have more than a purely scientific *raison d'être*. Yerusalimskii's study actually and admittedly reflects, in addition to scientific aims, a political purpose, as it tends to stigmatize the kind of combination between an imperialistic Germany and the Western powers against both China and Russia, as *de facto* and almost *de jure* materialized in the late 1890's. Also Yerusalimskii's treatment of German Social Democracy and his analysis of Wilhelm Liebknecht's anti-Russian policy—even though in itself correct—fulfills this mission and thus follows the Stalinist line which regards all attacks against Russia—be it tsarist or Soviet Russia—as something like treason against the Russian fatherland. But even in dealing with these topics Yerusalimskii is foremost a scholar who visibly dislikes to make statements that would be hard to prove. His study makes him a major figure in modern historiography and should be consulted by everybody dealing with that period, including the most determined opponents of the Marxian approach to history.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

HOSTAGES OF CIVILIZATION: A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL CAUSES OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN GERMANY. By *Eva G. Reichmann*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1951. Pp. 281. \$3.00.)

WITH few exceptions, the history of the persecution of the Jews has been written with an air of lachrymose melancholia and apology. Historians have painted the picture as an eternal and inevitable battle between Christians and Jews. In the face of brutal attacks the Jews have in the past concentrated on denying accusations. Fearing to supply anti-Semites with fuel for their hatred, they have often placed themselves in an unrealistic light of pure innocence. These approaches offer little toward making anti-Semitism understood as a social and

political force, nor do they show how it has been possible for agitators to associate the Jews with the general areas of the misery and discontent of our time.

Recent studies of anti-Semitism have been developed more "scientifically." They furnish us with a great abundance of objective data, but they fail to integrate the results of their research into a comprehensible whole. This is why Dr. Reichmann's analysis of the problem of anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany is so outstanding and stimulating. She possesses a rich historical, political, and psychological background. This, combined with a profound understanding of human problems, enables her to shed light on crucial aspects of anti-Semitism which have heretofore been allowed to rest in darkness. These broad insights, however, make her work at moments appear unnecessarily complicated and entangled.

Dr. Reichmann's first object is to counteract the disillusionment which has swept Western Jewry since the Nazi orgies. German Jewry up to the advent of Nazism had stood for the "ideal type" of emancipation, i.e., that Jews can live successfully as an integral part of the Gentile world without losing their character as a Jewish community. The Nazi experience led many to believe that emancipation had proved a failure. Mrs. Reichmann, however, shows that the real causes of the Jewish tragedy in Germany are to be found primarily in factors lying outside the context of Jewish-Gentile relations. Nevertheless, she is not afraid to acknowledge the "objective" causes of anti-Semitism, the actual antipathies and aversions which exist between groups of different characteristics (cultural, religious, economic, etc.). When a fundamentally homogeneous minority group is brought into continuous and vital contact with the dominant group, they will both undergo psychological reactions which disturb their equilibrium, causing antagonisms. These tensions existed in Germany as elsewhere but the progressive social integration of the Jewish group, since its legal emancipation, steadily worked toward reducing "genuine" collisions between the groups. In fact, by the time of Hitler, only small residues of the "objective Jewish question" had remained.

The author's main concern, therefore, is the "subjective" sham antagonism created by the Nazis. Formerly the opinion prevailed among students of the Jewish question that the arguments used by anti-Semites were more or less identical with the causes of the hostility. In this belief, people thought they had adequately refuted anti-Semitism when they had proved that the arguments put forth by agitators were not borne out by facts. Dr. Reichmann, on the other hand, is not only concerned with what the anti-Semites *did* and *said*, but primarily with the factors in German life and thought which prepared the ground for the use of anti-Semitism as a political weapon. This approach makes Dr. Reichmann's book valuable not only for those who are concerned with the specific problem of anti-Semitism but to everyone who is troubled by the crisis of democratic values in our time. She considers the following major aspects as local German manifestations of an evil which is world-wide: the rapidity of socio-economic disorganization and class conflict with a corresponding decline in the public esteem for

democracy; the burdensome and disillusioning struggle for material existence in a competitive economy; and the disintegration of religious and moral values during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which left the individual isolated, confused, and apathetic and removed the barriers imposed by civilization upon primitive urges.

The National Socialists utilized all these factors. Anti-Semitism served as a smoke screen behind which all sorts of antidemocratic measures could be perpetrated while at the same time giving the desperate inarticulate masses an outlet for their destructive passions. The vagueness of anti-Semitism "combined with its alleged 'scientific' character allowed people to associate all kinds of ideas with it. . . . Its aggressiveness, combined with its alleged service of a high ideal, enabled people to hate with a good conscience and still to feel morally superior."

It is only small consolation to know that Central European Jewry was not exterminated because of its integration into the Christian world but because of an evil which is world-wide in our time. Therefore, Dr. Reichmann may be accused by some of having shown too much understanding and sympathy for the position of the anti-Semite. To these critics it is important to point out that condemnation of destruction and hostility is not enough. Nazism has brought an underlying evil to the surface. We can no longer deny its existence nor its origins. Instead of ignoring the bad, as if it would automatically remove itself, we must learn to understand it. Mrs. Reichmann has brought us a big step forward in this direction.

New York, N. Y.

ELEONORE STERLING

THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN COMPANY. By S. B. Okun. Edited, with Introduction, by B. D. Grekov. Translated by Carl Ginsburg. Preface by Robert J. Kerner. [Russian Translation Project Series of the American Council of Learned Societies, No. 9.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 311. \$4.50.)

THIS volume in the "Russian Translation Project Series" of the American Council of Learned Societies provides us with what we have long needed—a translation into English of Okun's history of the Russian American Company, which appeared in the Soviet Union in 1939. The Russian author had at his disposal—in addition to printed sources and secondary works available to earlier writers—archive material of tsarist times, mostly drawn from the records of the various ministries. There are some references from the archives of the company's head office but their paucity tends to confirm what has long been suspected, that these are but scanty remnants of the main collection rumored to have disappeared when the capital was moved from Petrograd to Moscow in 1918. Nor did Okun have access to the records of the company kept for half a century or more at Sitka, which were turned over to the United States by the treaty of cession in 1867 and which are now in the National Archives in Washington.

On the whole, the result is a satisfactory account of the organization of the company and of its life span, though solely from the official standpoint and as seen from the capital some eight thousand miles away. This tends to emphasize the company's role in the grand plans of imperial expansion to the neglect of the human side—the struggles and hardships and disappointments of the individuals involved. Baranov, the first factor, shrinks in stature in comparison with other figures. We hear perhaps, more of the attempt to occupy the Hawaiian Islands, of the efforts to secure a foothold on Haiti in the West Indies, to get access to China through Canton in place of Kiahkta, and to win California. We hear comparatively little of the deals with the Hudson's Bay Company to secure a supply of food from Puget Sound, of the company's trade in ice and coal with San Francisco, of the whaling industry during the last years of Russian occupation.

Mr. Okun is guilty of some rather serious slips. He omits reference to Veniaminov (later Bishop Innokentii), whose letters and writings are an important contribution to the history of the Aleutian Islands. Veniaminov is our best authority on the decimation of the Aleut population by the excesses of the earlier traders which set the precedent for the company's harsh treatment of the natives later on. Mr. Okun, not being familiar with the American Constitution, in his last chapter makes the assumption that the ratification of the treaty of cession by the Senate was the chief ordeal through which the latter had to pass, rather than the appropriation of the purchase price by the House—an obstacle surmounted, according to rumor, only by the liberal expenditure of money by the Russian ambassador, Stoeckl.

The jargon affected by Mr. Okun and his straining to bring in Marx, Engels, and Lenin conform to the prescribed sycophancy. A serious defect is the complete lack of awareness of geography or indeed of any local knowledge on the part of the author, and not supplied by the translator. For example on page 53 Yakutat Bay is referred to as the Gulf of Yakutsk. On page 57 the name is given correctly but we learn that it is on Bering Sea, a slip which a mere glance at a map of Alaska would have rendered impossible.

Other questionable passages seem to be due rather to errors in translation. "Columbia" is used throughout as a territorial designation when obviously what is meant is the Columbia River. (The omission of the definite article in Russian makes for this confusion.) One wonders why (p. 29) Andrean Tolstykh is rendered as "Adrian of the Tolstoys" (two lines later as "Tolstoy"), despite the fact that he gave his name to the "Andreanof Islands." Isanotski Strait appears on page 9 as Issinakhsksk. On pages 219–20 in a discussion of the agreement reached with the Hudson's Bay Company (which is erroneously referred to as "the Hudson Bay Co.") for a lease of the *lisière*, the yearly rental is given as 2,000 sea otters though the Russian expressly uses the word "*vydry*" (river otters) instead of *morskíe bobry* (the usual term for sea otters). The rendering of the Russian "*promyshlennyye*" or "*promyshlenniki*" by "*promyshlennosti*" (industries) is, in this connection, a meaningless term.

These and other numerous errors seriously mar the usefulness of the book and should certainly be corrected if a second edition comes out.

University of Oklahoma

STUART R. TOMPKINS

PIONEERS OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL THOUGHT: STUDIES OF NON-MARXIAN FORMATION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA AND OF ITS PARTIAL REVIVAL IN THE SOVIET UNION. By *Richard Hare*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. vi, 307. \$4.50.)

IN the ceaseless effort to solve the Soviet enigma, Western historians have sought some light in a study of the Russian past. A continuity between the past and present has been stressed in intellectual thought, in social and political institutions and practices, and in the behavior pattern of the ruling polity. Though this approach can be carried too far, it has helped to make more understandable various developments in the Soviet scheme of things. Mr. Hare's book, while in no sense a deliberate effort in this direction, significantly contributes to our knowledge of the continuity between the Russian past and present.

Mr. Hare considers a number of Russian thinkers of the nineteenth century and relates them to the manner in which they have been appraised or reappraised in the Soviet Union. More than this, he studies them against the background of Russian intellectual history and political thought. The list includes early Westernizers, such as Peter Chaadayev, V. S. Pecherin, and Nicholas Ogarëv; the so-called father of the Russian intelligentsia—Vissarion Belinsky; the original Slavophiles—the brothers Ivan and Peter Kireyevsky and A. S. Khomyakov; the political Slavophiles—Fyodor Tyutchev, the brothers Konstantin and Ivan Aksakov, A. Koshelëv, and Yuri Samarin; and finally the significant radical thinkers, N. G. Chernyshevsky and Alexander Herzen, and the conservative Konstantin Leontiev.

The book's concentration is on the Slavophil movement, and happily so, for this important development in Russian intellectual history is least understood—or perhaps it would be better to say most misunderstood—by Western students of Russia. Mr. Hare takes pains to correct certain errors concerning the Slavophiles which have been widely disseminated in Western textbooks, especially that the Slavophiles were reactionaries, that they created a major political movement with clear-cut political aims, that they were chauvinists who hated Europe and uniformly desired to isolate Russia from any extension of European influence.

This treatment of the Slavophil movement has particular bearing on certain developments in the Soviet Union, for not a little of the inspiration for "National Bolshevism" derives from the mental capital of Slavophilism. Naturally the critical realism and "democracy" of the Westernizers have received Soviet preference in expressing their debt to the Russian past, but especially since the end of the war Moscow has never been so national in very much the sense that the Slavophiles were nationalistic.

Mr. Hare's study of the Westernizers is more modest and less of a contribution. However, the extensive and carefully selected quotations from their works, and especially from those of the Slavophiles, whose writings are rarely translated and hence are very little known in the West, comprise one of the important features of this book for American students of Russian thought. On the whole, the book is a valuable brief introduction to early Russian social thought, and readers will look forward with keen anticipation to the sequel, in which Mr. Hare intends to carry his study up to the 1917 Revolution.

Columbia University

ERNEST J. SIMMONS

Far Eastern History

INDIA AND BRITISH IMPERIALISM. By *Gorham D. Sanderson*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1951. Pp. 383. \$4.50.)

THE author, an American educated at Trinity College, Dublin, has essayed here to describe the anatomy of British imperialism as illustrated in India. In the main he has done so with modest success. In fact, this synthesis may provide a useful counterpoise to the many official accounts by those magnificently articulate Englishmen who made and carried out British policy. Dr. Sanderson finds the basic factors of British imperialism in the twelfth-century Norman lordship in Ireland, and proceeds to show how this pattern of military absolutism and economic exploitation was developed in India.

Having outlined a golden age of pre-British rule and dismissed the *Pax Britannica* as a myth, he relates the company's struggle in vain to protect its privilege in the oligarchic eighteenth-century Parliament. After a combination of English propertied groups succeeded in defeating the company bloc, Indian domestic industry was throttled by means of a prohibitive tariff. Then with the various revisions of the charter beginning in 1773, national exploitation gradually replaced private monopoly. Tricky financing of the railways built by the English ultimately heightened the tax burden of the Indian people and the manipulation of rates increased "the suction of extractive imperialism." Repeatedly famine and death swept across India caused by overtaxation of the land and a mercantilistic colonial economy.

A turning point came when Macaulay put the official cachet on "an impractical, alien educational system whose theories, curriculum, and objectives were for a free people governing themselves under free conditions of the mother country" (p. 241). Macaulay's ignorance of Indian culture prevented his knowing on what fertile ground he sowed, for, of course, the English-educated class organized the Indian National Congress, which became the nucleus of Mohandas K. Gandhi's mass revolt against British imperialism. Thus "India's struggle for liberty and

democracy," the author concludes, "is nothing more than the real heart of British civilization fighting against the reactionary elements in British society, which have dedicated themselves to the continuation of the old system of imperialism" (p. 346).

Specialists in the history of British expansion will be able to furnish their own perspective, but the general reader should be warned that a number of Dr. Sander-son's generalizations are questionable and some of his evidence is of dubious weight. Although the bibliography provided is fairly representative of various points of view, the author leans heavily on a few nationalist writers, and this tends to color the discussion with emotional overtones that mar the effectiveness of the argument. Despite these shortcomings, and inevitable minor errors, the book is highly readable, and we look forward to the forthcoming companion volume on the Irish independence movement.

Washington, D. C.

MARK NAIDIS

CHINESE COMMUNISM AND THE RISE OF MAO. By *Benjamin I. Schwartz*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 4.] (Cambridge: Har-
vard University Press. 1951. Pp. 258. \$4.00.)

NEW CHINA: THREE VIEWS. By *Otto B. van der Sprenkel, Robert Guillain,*
and *Michael Lindsay*. With an Introduction by Kingsley Martin. (New York:
John Day Company. 1951. Pp. xv, 241. \$3.00.)

IN Dr. Schwartz' book we now have a solid study of the early history of the Chinese Communist party down to about 1933. It is a pioneer work which uses skillfully the basic sources available in Chinese, with attention to supplementary materials in Japanese and Russian. Dr. Schwartz has chosen to concentrate on the development of doctrine, strategy, and tactics, and the internal political relations of the party's Chinese leadership with one another and with the Comintern. It is perhaps too early to attempt a broad study of the movement as a whole in the setting of modern Chinese history, but this work provides a firm foundation stone.

One theme stands out strongly: that in the period up to 1931 the strategy for developing and capturing the Chinese revolution was determined in and directed from Moscow; that the sequence of disastrous failures suffered by the Chinese party was due fundamentally to Moscow's inability to adjust Marxist-Leninist dogma to Chinese reality; and that after each strategic failure Moscow laid the public blame upon the very Chinese leaders who had attempted faithfully to carry out its directives: Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, and Li Li-san. This statement oversimplifies the complicated account of events which Dr. Schwartz unfolds and the delicate task he has performed in disentangling and presenting the evidence.

As the author points out in his introduction, an immense effort is being made by orthodox Stalinist historiography to present the Chinese Communist success as a result of Stalin's own prescience and masterly planning. This myth has been

accepted and even insisted upon by many who regard themselves as the Kremlin's bitterest foes. (There is a contradictory myth vigorously fostered by current Chinese historiography which attributes the success to Mao's infallible wisdom under the guidance, of course, of Marxism-Leninism. If the two myths are ever squarely confronted, the results should be interesting.)

The latter part of this book deals with Mao's rise to power within the party and with the success of his formula which gave priority in China to agrarian rather than proletarian revolution. It shows that in spite of all attempts by Communists in Russia and China to conceal the facts, the Chinese Communist movement had no organic relation with the proletariat after 1931. It was a peasant movement guided by an elite group, of largely middle-class background, organized in a tightly centralized party along Leninist lines.

It is Dr. Schwartz's conclusion that "the political strategy of Mao Tse-tung was not planned in advance in Moscow, and even ran counter to the tenets of orthodoxy which were still considered sacrosanct and inviolate in Moscow at the time when this strategy first crystallized; that it was only the force of circumstances which finally led Moscow to provide a facade of rationalization for this new experience" (p. 5). In the apt phrase of Li Ang, who revealed in 1942 a great deal of the inner history of the Chinese party, "Moscow itself had to buy 'face' through Mao Tse-tung" (p. 188). The implications of this study for the truly complex question of present and future relations between Moscow and Peking are worth pondering even though the author refrains from speculating beyond his evidence.

Within the framework of his important line of investigation, Dr. Schwartz has explored a great many previously unused Chinese sources. He also missed some valuable items. Since the documentary material on communism in China is still disorganized, fragmentary, and frequently suspect, one wishes he had provided more critical comment upon the documents he discovered in various American libraries.

On one question—the Comintern's approval of the Northern Expedition which officially began early in July, 1926—Schwartz may have been led astray. He shows (p. 57) that it was launched against the objection of the secretary general of the party, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, but states that Borodin and the Comintern gave it a final blessing. Borodin, who was in Canton, may have agreed but the Comintern's approval needs substantiation. Among the documents seized in the raid on the office of the Soviet military attaché in Peking on April 6, 1927—of which Schwartz makes only partial use—there are several which point the other way, i.e., that the Chinese Communist leadership was uncertain of the correct position on this matter; that the Kremlin was uninformed and opposed to the expedition before it began; and that as late as August 4 (Changsha had been taken on July 13) the "Soviet Commission for Chinese Affairs" favored stopping further movement of troops out of Kwangtung.

Unfortunately space restrictions do not allow adequate discussion of the other book under review. It contains interesting bits of analysis by Lindsay and observation by Guillain on Communist China in 1949. It may be useful to future historians as an exhibit of the ecstatic line of reporting that was prevalent in the early days of the Peoples Republic. It also presents in translation six important public documents of the period 1947-49, but they are readily available elsewhere.

Columbia University

C. MARTIN WILBUR

AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN KOREA. By *E. Grant Meade*.
(New York: King's Crown Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 281. \$3.75.)

In this study, the author, drawing upon his experience as a military government official, has attempted to evaluate the achievements of the American occupation by analyzing the administration of one province. He has also tried to prove that the trial-and-error experience of military officials in areas such as Korea has helped to make a more unified American foreign policy. His findings, however, do not quite bear out his conclusions. His own observations seem to show that no final estimate can be made of the achievements of military government without taking into account achievements at the national level under military governors other than the one under whom he served. Furthermore, his analysis of the major problems of occupation—inflation, tenancy, policing—tends to prove that in Korea civil affairs officers failed dismally in their efforts to develop good government on the American plan at the local level. The reasons for this failure, as Mr. Meade makes abundantly clear, were the increasing demands of the cold war. In spite of Mr. Meade's hopeful statement about the general adaptability of American foreign policy since World War II, his account leads the reader to conclude that in no area of the world has American foreign policy been more inflexible from start to finish, or less sensitive to local needs.

After groping with considerable uncertainty through several background chapters on Korean geography and history, the author presents in a workmanlike and orderly manner a factual account of the military government's administrative and political activities in one area, South Cholla Province, during one year, October, 1945, to October, 1946. This period he considers crucial because local self-government was then most effective.

The author's account of the changes within military government as it progressed toward effective centralization, of the struggle made by this government to gain control for the right in a province where a majority were middle-of-the-roads or leftists, as well as his summary of the views which Koreans held of the government, are valuable contributions to our knowledge of American military policy overseas. Though Mr. Meade's report on these important features is neither flattering nor encouraging, he concludes that in matters of administration, "Americans found themselves on reasonably stable ground," that they could do, and did

do, much good work in economic rehabilitation, flood control, the care of refugees, and other social welfare jobs.

According to Mr. Meade, military government in Korea did not begin in Korea until two and a half months after the Japanese surrender, six weeks after American troops had entered the country. When civil affairs officers arrived they found three governing groups in various stages of control: former Japanese officials, Korean *de facto* government officers of the People's Republic, and officers of the U. S. combat troops. The group representing the People's Republic was a coalition of more than forty factions reflecting all shades of political opinion. After this group had been relegated to the status of a political party, the Americans set up the administration on Japanese lines instead of Korean. Between April and September, 1946, the number of sections in the government had increased, despite efforts at consolidation, from 86 to 117, the net result being a centralized government much more complex than the Japanese. In the fall of 1946 Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge transferred administrative control to the Koreans and "military government concluded its first year of occupation by foisting upon Korea a government structure in which one of the most certain safeguards of democracy, local self-government, was completely lacking" (p. 81).

The chapter on Korea's political heritage is unconvincing. The statement that Confucian familism operated in such a way that "the higher the position the greater the amount of scholarship required to fill it" (p. 29) denotes a certain unfamiliarity with traditional Korean politics. That the Japanese "governor-general's power throughout the peninsula was absolute to a degree that Korean monarchs had never attained" (p. 30) is certainly debatable. Completely untenable is the assertion that Korea's "success in long maintaining herself politically intact, reflects credit on her capacity for war" (p. 31).

Although a study of this kind is difficult to make, dealing as it does with recent and often controversial issues, it is nevertheless a useful contribution to our understanding of a very complex situation.

Washington, D. C.

EVELYN B. McCUNE

American History

LIFE IN AMERICA. In two volumes. By *Marshall B. Davidson*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company in Association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1951. Pp. xiii, 573; 503. \$20.00.)

THESE are the picture years. The public already realizes the fact, and the historians must soon follow suit. Actually, although our gild has used graphic materials for illustrative purposes and in teaching since the publication of the *Pageant of America* two decades ago, only a handful of historians have realized their prime value as sources, which in many instances surpass the manuscript or the printed

page as authorities. When pictures are so used, however, they must be subjected to severe critical tests which are yet to be evolved. One must know, for example, the precise date of the picture, the date of the subject matter, whether an illustration or a painting was drawn from life or from memory, whether the artist was an accurate observer, whether the photographer made an honest or a trick exposure, and many other things, before he can rely upon a representation as an acceptable source. On the other hand, such examination is no more than what is daily required of the medievalist or student of ancient history. A fundamental desideratum in this connection must be the demand by the historian, the reviewer especially, that publishers of pictorial histories steadfastly adhere to respectable standards of reproduction and honesty in chronology. To date publishers are the greatest offenders, displaying little or no sense of responsibility or integrity in this genre. A third fundamental feature of the use of graphic data in historical books is the successful solution of the difficult problem of integrating illustrations and text to produce a unified whole. Most historians have customarily permitted their publishers to select illustrations for their books, and these have been chosen more with an eye on sales than upon amplification or clarification of the text. In short, graphic materials are looming so large that their use, both as illustrations and as historical sources, demands the evolution of new methods of presentation and new critical standards on the part of writers and publishers, for the error foisted on the reader by the picture can be far more lasting than that imparted by the printed page. We must have as sound, or even better, standards for pictures as for textual matter.

In *Life in America* Marshall Davidson, associate curator of the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Houghton Mifflin Company have joined forces to produce two volumes that represent the most serious, and most successful, effort yet made in this country to weave prose and pictures into a historical narrative. Although designed for the public, this set will not only assist students in the classroom to visualize our past, it will prove of great value in stimulating the historical imagination of professional scholars. Including over 1,200 illustrations and a quarter of a million words in his thousand pages, Mr. Davidson has nobly undertaken to grapple with the problems outlined above. Despite the foreword by Francis H. Taylor and the blurb of the publisher, he has not produced a new kind of history; nor, I suspect, would this able and modest scholar himself so claim. One thinks of the Propylaeon histories immediately. The narrative is crisp and at times racy with humor; it is always interesting and generally abreast of the latest scholarship; above all the treatment is skillfully organized and fresh in tone. In a very real sense, however, the text is an extension of the captions rather than a medium that is joined with another to produce a third.

These volumes do indeed break new ground in the use of pictures as history, but many more scholars as dedicated as Mr. Davidson must work on the problem before a satisfactory technique for integrating pictures and words is finally devised.

Even the best-informed historian cannot fail to be impressed with the richness and variety of the American pictorial heritage here revealed, or to learn many things from the unusually large number of previously unexploited materials included by Mr. Davidson. Moreover, these pictures have been selected with great intelligence and unfailing good taste.

Many of the illustrations in *Life in America* are not reliable as sources, however; and they not infrequently convey false impressions which will deceive an unsuspecting reading public. The interior of Carter's Grove, for example (I, 71), shows a beautiful vista through half of the mansion, but this is a modern photograph and there is no indication that the vista was created in recent years by building in between the flankers and the main building. There is thus little value in the picture as far as the student of the eighteenth century is concerned. The most careful dating of the drawing of the highly important Miller watercolors of York, Pennsylvania, is required; for there is reason to believe that many are retrospective rather than portions of what might be called a pictorial diary (II, 132). St. Luke's, Smithfield, Virginia, was very inaccurately restored according to architects although no mention of this is made; such data are as essential as correct quotations and facts to a text. If the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was double-tracked as early as 1831 according to the cut on II, 245, this is a most interesting fact; or was it merely an aspiration? We are not told. Houghton Mifflin Company has notably improved its photographic and printing processes in the last three years, but two general criticisms can still be fairly made: certain pictures are so small as to be useless for anything more than a vague impression, as in the view of Pittsburgh (II, 119), which is also blurred badly; and many unnecessarily dark exposures have been used (II, 325), often in cases of modern photographs for which many copies are available (I, 54; II, 329, 339, Amish men).

Life in America is a pioneering work in a difficult kind of history, but one of increasing significance that demands careful attention from historians. Its virtues far outweigh its weaknesses, and it will prove of inestimable value to all readers. It is to be hoped that these volumes, among the most significant in the field of American history to appear for many a year, will be reduced in price in later editions so that they may be widely used in schools and colleges.

University of California, Berkeley

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

THE LITERATURE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL SURVEY. Edited by *Arthur Hobson Quinn*, University of Pennsylvania. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1951. Pp. xix, 1172. \$6.50.)

THE title, *The Literature of the American People*, will inevitably lead students of history to assume that they have here an exceptionally useful reference work. Such an assumption is further strengthened by this explicit statement in the

preface: "The rapid growth of departments of American Civilization in our colleges and universities is an indication of the need for a history of American Literature which reflects the opinions and desires of the people who have read and inspired it as well as those who created it." Since it is manifestly impossible to accomplish all this in a single volume, even one of 1172 pages, three themes are emphasized: the relation of literature to political and social movements, the relation of literature to painting, sculpture, and architecture, and the growth of magazines and "their effect for good or ill upon literature."

Kenneth B. Murdock in Part I, "The Colonial and Revolutionary Period," successfully connects literature with contemporary affairs. This success is to be attributed not only to the obvious fact that seventeenth and eighteenth century writers were deeply concerned with religion and politics but to the fact that Mr. Murdock's approach is truly interdisciplinary. Part II, "The Establishment of National Literature," by Mr. Quinn, is devoted almost entirely to literary history, with occasional paragraphs on ideas and historical events of the period and an interpolated chapter summarizing what men of letters from Cooper to Thoreau said concerning politics and slavery. Clarence Gohdes in Part III, "The Later Nineteenth Century," correlates cultural and literary history by focusing attention on democracy, realism and naturalism, social problems, science, the popular magazine, popular humor, and the popular theater. Much of the material in Part IV, "The Twentieth Century," has social significance but George Whicher treats that material as a conservative literary critic rather than an impersonal cultural historian.

The relation of literature to the allied arts is handled in a few passing references and two chapters of notes on painters, sculptors, and architects, Currier and Ives, folk music, references to the arts by men of letters, and the use of themes from nineteenth-century literature by later composers. Apparently Mr. Quinn, like the late Irving Babbitt, still resists any confusion of the arts, since he remarks that Charles Ives's "Concord Sonata" "seems to have indicated the limits of such efforts, for a printed explanation was required!" The brief sections which deal with American magazines, including *PMLA* and the *American Historical Review*, leave "their effect for good or ill upon literature" obscure.

The editor's preface states that *The Literature of the American People* also appraises literary movements in relation to their transience or permanence, examines our obligations to foreign literatures, lays fresh stress upon our influence on literature abroad, and for the first time gives American drama "its proper place in a history of literature." Other scholars will feel that more attention might profitably have been given to the first three of these undertakings and less to the fourth.

As a whole, *The Literature of the American People* "reflects the opinions and desires of the people who have read and inspired it" only in fragmentary fashion and often only by indirection. The volume, therefore, is not a definitive study in

cultural history; it is, rather, a useful exemplification of an attitude toward American literature. In earlier works, Vernon Parrington wrote as a Jeffersonian, Ludwig Lewisohn as a Freudian, and V. F. Colverton as a Marxian. The present work is in varying degrees patrician—least persistently in Part III and most incisively in Part IV. The fashion in which this approach to American literature has been humanized during the last half century becomes evident when one compares this enlightened patricianism with the illiberalism of the first notable spokesman for that school, Barrett Wendell in *A Literary History of America* (1900).

University of Minnesota

TREMAINE McDOWELL

THE AMERICAN AS REFORMER. By *Arthur M. Schlesinger*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 127. \$2.25.)

WHY has the United States nearly always set the pace for the Old World in reform zeal? Why have American reformers generally avoided extreme measures and been content with piecemeal progress? Whence has American reform derived its abiding vitality? Have third-party movements been harmful or beneficial to reform? What are the chief barriers in the way of social reform today? At what point does the intervention of government, in its attempt to "promote the general welfare," begin to undermine individual initiative and independence?

These and many other stimulating questions were discussed by Professor Schlesinger at Pomona College in the spring of 1950, when he held the Haynes Foundation Lectureship. Presented now in book form, his discourse, happily phrased, is always thoughtful and persuasive. As President E. Wilson Lyon remarks in the foreword, the reader quickly realizes why these lectures made a profound impression on the audiences in Southern California. We, who did not hear them delivered, are fortunate to have them in more permanent form.

Professor Schlesinger believes that reform movements in the United States have drawn vitality from two potent sources—religion and natural-rights philosophy. The former, particularly in its evangelical manifestations, inspired many a humanitarian enterprise; while the latter, as set forth in the preamble of the Declaration of Independence, provided "an incomparable rallying cry for reformers." If both these basic sets of ideals have less influence in the twentieth than in the nineteenth century, neither has completely lost its hold on the minds of Americans. They still sustain the reform impulse today. Over the years the forces thus generated have been occasionally strengthened in serious national crises. The Revolutionary War brought humanitarian gains and democratic aspirations which could not long be denied; the Civil War hastened incalculably the greatest of all American reforms, the abolition of slavery; the Great Depression of 1929 accelerated economic reform in ways which still remain obscure.

Some of the most interesting observations in Professor Schlesinger's pages

deal with the interaction between politics and reform in the United States. He demonstrates how much we owe to our federal system as a "lubricant of social change," because it grants freedom to the several states "to deal with their own problems in their own way" and at the same time permits federal action "to universalize a social change already well tested locally." It is Schlesinger's opinion that zealous reformers have been mistaken in resorting to third-party movements to gain their ends politically. At times such attempts to overcome the difficulties of the two-party system have done positive harm to the particular reform the third party sought to advance. Hence, the highly organized and numerous reform lobbies attempting to sway the major parties, which now flourish in Washington and every state capital.

Nowhere does the author undertake to define explicitly the word "reform." In the last essay, however, in which he considers the "revolt against revolt," reform seems to be equated with social change. However that may be, Professor Schlesinger's analysis of the motives and methods of opposition to reform is an impressive contribution to our understanding of the battle now being waged over the *status quo*. He is devastating as he takes apart the present attempts to settle public problems by hurling opprobrious epithets; he is eloquent as he defends "our American heritage of freedom" against those who are so alarmed by the fear of communism that they seem to have lost faith in the capacity of "free institutions to command the people's continuing confidence and allegiance." There is no question that we face an enemy, not only in Asia and Europe but here in the United States, who is willing to use any fraud or violence to gain his ends. That is a reason for grave concern; it is not an excuse for "intellectual delirium tremens."

There is reassurance for the present and hope for the future in the knowledge that "our national life has been healthy and virile because of the opportunity to criticize, protest and espouse unpopular causes. The reformer has always had his day in court, and if his case was good enough, he has won the verdict."

Columbia University

JOHN A. KROUT

THE NAVIGATION ACTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Oliver M. Dickerson. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1951. Pp. xv, 344. \$6.00.)

THIS is an important book. It takes the form not of a systematic study of the operation of the British navigation and trade system between the years 1763 and 1775 but rather of a lawyer's brief that lays down certain propositions that are thereupon supported with cogency. Thus the method of exposition is deductive and is therefore to be distinguished from the inductive approach such as was employed by Professor Lawrence A. Harper in his methodical, noncontroversial *The English Navigation Laws: A Seventeenth Century Experiment in Social*

Engineering that appeared in 1939. As to the latter, while there are few purple patches in the orderly marshaling of the materials, it has become an indispensable aid to the serious student of the Old British Empire. In the highly controversial *The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution* the reader finds not only life, movement, and excitement, as he is brought face to face with the actual people caught and struggling in the web of imperial restrictions, but also many moot points.

The chief propositions set forth by Professor Dickerson in the course of the volume are: (1) The navigation and trade system as evolved before 1763 did not injure the American colonials, but, to the contrary, made it possible for them to enjoy the very high degree of prosperity to which they had attained by that date. (2) As a consequence, there was in the continental colonies by 1763 "every physical evidence of wealth more abundant than in England. . . ." (3) The attempt to raise a revenue in the colonies after 1763 was made chiefly at the desire of George III and those corrupt elements that surrounded him in order to provide good livings for their needy followers. (4) The new restrictive and revenue-producing acts that as a consequence were thereupon passed—with the attendant evils that followed in their train, such as extortions, which were continued, despite the censuring of these practices by the law officers in Great Britain—were the true causes of the American Revolution. (5) Therefore, it is unjust and unhistorical to attribute the Revolution to any of the provisions of the seventeenth-century navigation and trade acts or to those added in the first half of the eighteenth century, all of which were accepted by colonials as both reasonable and necessary. The five propositions may be summarized by one: that there would have been no American Revolution had the navigation and trade system as it existed before 1763 been permitted to operate after that date in the manner in which it had heretofore functioned—free of all revenue-producing implications.

All students of the period would doubtless agree that when the government of Great Britain embarked on the twin policies of rigid enforcement of the navigation and trade laws and of seeking additional revenue in America by means of taxation, the consequences, under given circumstances, were fatal to the preservation of the unity of the old empire. However, they are unlikely to agree with Professor Dickerson that the change was brought about because a crowd of hungry British place seekers had to be taken care of, but rather because of something much more relevant to the welfare of the North American continent: the vital necessity of facing the problem of defending the vast acquisitions won there in the course of the war and, to this end, of providing the costs of this program, as stressed in the Shelburne, Amherst, and other collections of papers that Professor Dickerson does not seem to have used. That the British taxpayer was overtaxed and in no condition to bear alone the additional financial load is, moreover, indicated by the evidence that the author submits (pp. 54-55); that the colonials, especially in view of their wealth, also enjoyed a comparative freedom

from war debts—as well as from other public debts—he also makes clear (pp. 53, 55, 60–61), but he fails to bring out the fact that this happy situation was to a great extent the result of the appropriation by Parliament of large sums between 1757 and 1763 as reimbursement of the expenses of the colonies which had exerted themselves in the course of the war.

Again, in accounting for the bitter hostility of the American seafaring people to the British customs officials and naval officers with the institution of the new regulations and taxation measures after 1763, Professor Dickerson does not take into consideration the fact that this hatred was in the first instance created in the midst of the war with France when, on orders issued by Pitt, there began the seizure of American vessels involved in trade with the enemy—denounced by the Great Commoner as an “illegal and most pernicious trade,” which, however, according to the author, Americans felt they could carry on without disloyalty (p. 169). It is clear that the hatred thus created at certain seaports against these enforcement agents never died down when peace was restored; what is more, it was returned in full measure, there is no doubt.

Finally, as to the major thesis. While Professor Dickerson has developed most convincingly the proposition that the navigation and trade system, despite its restrictions, operated for a century to the benefit of the colonials, he has not removed the impression that there was after 1763 a substantial body of opinion hostile to it in America. There was, for example, the petition of the New York merchants in 1766—something that he ignores in his analysis—calling for the virtual scrapping of it in favor of free trade, to the great alarm of Pitt.

Before closing it may be well to point out some revisions that should be made in the text or footnotes. A tax of one penny a pound on tobacco by 21 George c. 2 raised the import duty from six and one third pence mentioned (p. 25) to seven and one third pence where it stood in 1763. In the discussion of the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1764 the statement regarding the American vice-admiralty courts is incorrect (p. 183). The vice-admiralty court for all America provided for in 1764 had no greater powers than the vice-admiralty courts created for America in 1696 and only had concurrent jurisdiction with them. These courts from the beginning had a much wider jurisdiction than did the High Court of Admiralty in England, which jurisdiction, moreover, was extended in 1722, in 1733, in 1764, and in 1765 to embrace many unlawful activities beyond the competence of the court in England. Again, Pitt was not the author of the Declaratory Act and disclaimed all responsibility for it (p. 195), nor was the well-known writer, Dean Tucker, a baronet (p. 276); finally, the statement that in 1769 the tea tax “was retained because it was a real source of revenue for support of the numerous placemen which the King’s Friends in England needed to keep themselves in office” (p. 299) is incorrect. As the Grafton and other papers make abundantly clear, it was retained not only because it did not burden British manufacturers but, fundamentally, because it was desired to vindicate the principles laid down

in the Declaratory Act; for it was felt that nothing less than the fate of the empire was in the balance and with it the principle of the sovereignty of Parliament.

The above criticisms are not intended to minimize the fact that the *Navigation Acts and the American Revolution* is certainly a book deserving the most thoughtful attention of every student of the Old British Empire. It brings into view a very large body of material, largely drawn from the Treasury papers, that is not readily available and also corrects many misconceptions of the functioning of the British imperial system that have been embodied not only in standard histories but even in specialized treatises.

The Queen's College, Oxford

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

JEFFERSON AND HIS TIME. Volume II, JEFFERSON AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN. By *Dumas Malone*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1951. Pp. xxix, 523. \$6.00.)

JEFFERSON'S "writings are no longer widely read; his name is more often on the lips than are his ideas fresh in the recollection of those who profess themselves his disciples. . . . His whole way of thinking is unlike our way to-day, and we might say that compared with such contemporaries as Bentham, Burke, Alexander Hamilton, and still more if he be compared with such much younger contemporaries as Goethe and Coleridge, Jefferson is almost archaic." Thus spoke Lord James Bryce in his Founder's Day address at the University of Virginia in 1908. At that time Jefferson's reputation was indeed at a low ebb, as it had been for many decades. It seemed that the many-sided genius who had played such an enormous part in founding the United States of America was little understood or appreciated by the majority of the American people, that his way of life and of thought had been steam-rollered and crushed by the system of his arch-rival, Hamilton.

Today we feel very differently on the subject. It would be hardly conceivable for any competent person outside the Iron Curtain to speak of him as "almost archaic." In the eyes of American historians and of the public in general he has come into his own as never before—at least if we may judge by the veritable flood of writings about him that has recently appeared and continues to appear.

The present volume is one more—and one of the very best—of that flood. It is the second of what was originally projected as a four-volume biography, but the author now states that he has had to raise his sights to include a fifth volume. It covers Jefferson's career from the summer of 1784, when he sailed from Boston for Europe, to the end of the year 1792, when he was still Secretary of State. In France, as one of the American commissioners (along with Adams and Franklin) to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce, he found himself in a poor bargaining position, but a few treaties were nevertheless signed. After about a year Jefferson succeeded the popular Franklin as minister to France and filled

that post with dignity and ability. It was the end of the Old Regime, and at the French court he came to know many of the "greats" of that day. With his wide range of interests, he was a constant observer and recorder of data on everything from architecture to olive trees and from the latest household gadgets to new methods of rice cultivation. He purchased large quantities of furniture and books (the latter the nucleus of the Library of Congress), and had some of the foremost artists of the day do statues and paintings of himself and his friends. During his last months in France he was a fascinated spectator of the beginning of the Revolution and optimistically looked on it as the coming of a new and happier era for the French people. His "Sentimental Adventure" with Maria Cosway is treated sympathetically and that lady is portrayed in a more attractive light than has been customary.

A lover of home and family, Jefferson was happy to return to his beloved Monticello, but he landed in Norfolk only to learn that Washington had appointed him first Secretary of State under the Constitution. Reluctantly he accepted and after a time made his way to New York, where he played a major role in setting the new government on its feet. The total annual budget of the Department of State, including the Secretary's salary, was only about \$8,000. The chief problems revolved around our relations with Spain, Great Britain, and France. The Nootka Sound controversy offered an opportunity to press American claims to navigation of the Mississippi and presaged Jefferson's later attitude and interest that resulted in the Louisiana Purchase. Relations with Britain remained strained and British hauteur and rudeness did not help matters. With France relations were more friendly, but Jefferson played favorites with no foreign nation, always placing first the interests of his own country. Soon the controversy with Hamilton became acute. The latter interfered with the conduct of foreign affairs and was markedly pro-British. Jefferson disapproved of the Hamiltonian system and made no secret of the fact. Finally the President had to intervene, but with only partial success. At the end of the period covered by this volume the relationship between the two men was very tense—but the worst was yet to come.

While the author is consistently friendly and partial to Jefferson, he nevertheless maintains the standard of scholarship set in the first volume, and it may be expected that the complete series will rank among the best of all biographies of distinguished Americans. A select critical bibliography, two "long notes" on special topics, and a useful index enhance the value of the work.

Raleigh, North Carolina

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

ZACHARY TAYLOR: SOLDIER IN THE WHITE HOUSE. By *Holman Hamilton*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1951. Pp. 496. \$6.00.)

A LITTLE over a century ago Zachary Taylor appeared briefly in the military and political spotlight. More than the usual number of campaign biographies

and collections of letters were published as victories at Monterey and Buena Vista converted an obscure frontier chieftain into presidential timber. A generation passed before he received posthumous recognition in Oliver O. Howard's *General Taylor* (1892), and still another before he achieved scholarly treatment in Brainerd Dyer's *Zachary Taylor* (1946). Meanwhile, Holman Hamilton had published *Zachary Taylor, Soldier of the Republic* (1941), and now, after a ten-year interval, *Soldier in the White House* completes a thoroughly competent two-volume biography. He has searched meticulously for evidence on minutiae as well as memorabilia, and modestly acknowledges his indebtedness to more than three hundred persons who contributed to his second volume. Despite these obligations, no one would question the author's responsibility for the biography's outstanding merits.

As an example of proficiency, Hamilton has determined definitely the authorship of the Allison letters, heretofore a matter of conjecture. Logan Hunton, James Love, and Balie Peyton prepared a preliminary draft of the first letter; they placed it before Taylor in Baton Rouge, who expressed his own views and "agreed to sign a letter incorporating 'what he had said & no more.'" Hunton then composed "the most important document of the preconvention campaign," and Taylor copied and signed it. The second Allison letter was written by Alexander Bullitt, "perhaps at Taylor's dictation." This shift in responsibility for the Allison letters from Kentucky, New York, and the national capital to Louisiana is accompanied by a revision in Thurlow Weed's contribution to Taylor's nomination. Hamilton concludes that "he appears not to have abandoned hope of Clayton's or Seward's chances to the very end," and that he "had less to do with the outcome than Crittenden" and a half dozen others. The author does not minimize the importance of New York in deciding the election, but he points also to Pennsylvania's significance. Taylor's plurality in Philadelphia was ten thousand votes: "It was the Quaker City that gave Taylor the margin that made him President."

The revisionist nature of Hamilton's biography is apparent in his treatment of the sectional issue and the Compromise of 1850. Taylor is depicted as "a forceful President" in formulating and promoting his plan for the admission of California and New Mexico. Democrats and Whigs, the author asserts, "paid attention aplenty to the Unionist convictions of Zachary Taylor." Clay's influence in furthering the compromise, Hamilton believes, has been exaggerated: "Democratic regulars would . . . have supported some such compromise," and the Kentuckian "brought no Senate strength" except perhaps the votes of eight Whigs. The biographer declares that "the long range of history presents at least as many arguments favoring Taylor's concept of statesmanship as that to which his opponents adhered."

After weighing imponderables as well as ponderables, Hamilton assigns Taylor a "higher than 'average'" rank among the presidents. Historians may question

this evaluation and at the same time recognize that the soldier-president who emerges from the biographer's pages has greater stature than history has accorded him. Only occasionally does the author abandon objectivity to align himself on Taylor's side of controversial issues and labor the correctness of his subject's position. The speculative observation that civil war might have been avoided if Taylor's plan of 1850 had been approved does not strengthen the convincing portrayal of the President's justifiable course. But Taylor's qualities now stand in bold relief, and the complex mid-century crisis appears in sharper focus. These are Hamilton's significant contributions, and they are sufficient to label his biography meritorious.

Tulane University

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON

RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE: A STUDY IN CONSERVATIVE THOUGHT.

By *Russell Kirk*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 187. \$3.00.)

THIS is not a biography of the eccentric statesman of Roanoke but an analysis of John Randolph's ideas and philosophy, a discussion of their influence on his contemporaries, and, incidentally, their applicability to present-day problems. The author examines Randolph's views on such concepts as the basis of authority, the division of power, slavery, agrarianism, and change or reform. He comes to the conclusion that Randolph was not the product of his times and environment but rather of his own nature, eccentricity, and genius. Randolph's reading, schooling, and experience merely confirmed his own inclinations.

Burke was the chief source of Randolph's political philosophy. From him Randolph derived his major ideas of indivisible sovereignty, impatience of legal rights and restraints, his advocacy of expediency tempered by prescription and tradition, and his reverence for experience. Jefferson was Randolph's second teacher, but Randolph broke with Jefferson because he believed Jefferson deserted the Republican standards of political purity, simplicity in government, and strict construction of the Constitution. And Randolph, says the author, was the first leader in America to develop opposition to the doctrine of equality as expressed in the Declaration of Independence. Randolph was a champion of liberty but not of equality. And his "was the liberty prescribed by tradition and delimited by expediency, not the absolute freedom of the philosophes."

Randolph's chief significance as a thinker and statesman lies in his championship of the status quo, of agrarian interests as against industrialism, of strict construction, of state and minority rights, and of the old order. He did not defend slavery per se but bitterly opposed, what he called, interference of northern abolitionists and of the federal government in the domestic institutions of the South. His opposition to reform was in vain but as the preceptor of Hayne, Tucker, Calhoun, *et al.*, he became the chief architect of the Southern Confederacy of 1861.

The author is in error when he attributes the Missouri Compromise to Henry Clay and when he declares that Calhoun voted for the Compromise. Thomas of Illinois was the author of the Compromise, and since Calhoun was Secretary of War from 1817 to 1825 he could not have voted for the Compromise in Congress.

The author writes in complete sympathy with Randolph's views. He thinks that American society lost much in the failure to accept Randolph's position. He questions the present-day concept of government and says that Randolph's conservative philosophy would be of value today when the United States has assumed the role of the chief champion of conservatism. Most of his readers would agree with his position that Randolph's views of "peace and prudence in foreign relations, and freedom from economic oppression by special interests are ideals . . . still worth striving for." This book is an able championship of conservative philosophy.

University of North Carolina

FLETCHER M. GREEN

JOHN C. CALHOUN, SECTIONALIST, 1840-1850. By *Charles M. Wiltse*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1951. Pp. 592. \$6.00.)

This is the last volume of Mr. Wiltse's three-volume biography. The first brought Calhoun's life to 1828, as the "Nationalist," the second described him as the "Nullifier," and now we have the concluding decade of his notable career and the author's final judgment.

Mr. Wiltse has chosen the leisurely "life and times" pattern of biography and has given a very complete exposition of the political history of the United States from 1811 until Calhoun's death. So full is the historical analysis that Calhoun is not infrequently lost sight of pages at a time. The author has likewise selected the formula of the evolving statesman as the theme of his biographical treatment. He has written a thoroughly documented work in a temper which is reasonably objective though obviously sympathetic.

The thesis of the author is that Calhoun as nationalist, nullifier, and sectionalist was always a lover of the Union, always working to preserve it. He failed, however, to understand the strength of that complex force often called the Industrial Revolution and mistakenly believed that preservation of the Union depended upon the continuance of southern society based upon a slave economy. From the time he realized the danger threatening the South he endeavored in season and out to organize his section into a solid political unit. This unit he believed must exert pressure to secure, while it could, a guaranty of its minority rights by means of a scheme of sectional autonomy. This he was at great pains to spell out in a formulation as elaborate as it was impractical.

Mr. Wiltse gives a very interesting and complete analysis. This last decade of Calhoun's life is the decade of Oregon, of Texas, of the Mexican War, and

of the Compromise of 1850. The author continues to make a thorough and critical use of the sources and the latest findings of scholarship in his very neat research and writing. Also as usual he has a penetrating understanding of the period. He does not gloss over Calhoun's weaknesses, nor avoid facing his errors, though perhaps he is too hard on his enemies, particularly Polk and Benton.

This work merits only high praise both as history and biography. But without wishing to detract notably from this judgment, there is one plea in modification to be filed. The author in choosing the formula of the evolution of the responsible statesman and the political philosopher as his pattern has written almost in terms which Calhoun himself provided. But in a democracy a statesman must also be a politician.

It may be argued that Calhoun was so great a philosopher and statesman because he was so frustrated a politician, and that he must have failed so in politics for the same reasons that he failed as a husband, a father, a financier, a member of a political team, and a presidential aspirant. The problem of these failures does not engage Mr. Wiltse's attention, yet it seems obvious that it was these repeated disasters together with increasing bodily weakness which drove him ever more insistently to take refuge in the recesses of his great mind and caused him to live more and more in his imagination. In this he was something like Lincoln. But his was not an imagination as was Lincoln's which opened the door to reality any more than were the imaginations of thousands of southern planters. As a result he had a great share in conjuring up the fears which were so large a part of the cause of the disaster that came in 1860-61. His great mind could not find any practical way to bring about the adjustments which the increase in mechanization and communications was making inevitable. So ruthlessly did ill-fortune pursue him, that Calhoun's life presents one of the truly great tragedies in American history.

Mr. Wiltse omits none of the elements of this tragedy. The reader will find them all scattered through the pages, but they are never brought to focus nor given the significance that they deserve. The result in this reviewer's judgment, is that although the author has produced a most valuable work, he would have more nearly approached a great biography had he concentrated his obvious talent more directly on the problem of how so great a man could be so great a failure.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF JOHN C. CALHOUN. By *August O. Spain*.
(New York: Bookman Associates. 1951. Pp. 306. \$3.50.)

IN this well-documented study Professor Spain holds that Calhoun led Western thought away from the false pattern of natural rights, the social compact doctrine, and libertarianism to a sounder system of socially derived rights, organic statehood, and distributive justice. This reviewer disagrees. Slowly and patiently

the West developed the belief that humans shared a common body of rights. In his second essay John Locke had shown that to preserve these rights it was imperative that control of the state, which alone possessed the power to act in an absolute and unlimited manner, be transferred from the one to the many.

It will be remembered that when American liberty was threatened in its dispute with Britain, Jefferson justified self-determination by means of the Lockian doctrine. Thus Jefferson contrived both to preserve the philosophy of natural rights and to advance the dogma of majority rule. Happily, America was led at this time by the pen of a Jefferson rather than by that of a Burke or a Calhoun. In the constitution-making period Madison, as Mr. Spain is aware, questioned the good judgment of factions motivated by self-interest. Although he ascribed no especial moral virtue to a number more than half the electorate in size, Madison cast no reflection upon natural rights or the democratic process. Indeed he prophesied a leading role for government as the adjuster of special interests. In a large republic Madison averred that self-interest would cancel out if provided with representative institutions, capable of coming to agreement through discussion.

In order to demonstrate that it was Calhoun who led the movement away from natural rights, Mr. Spain reiterates that John Taylor of Caroline clung tenaciously to the natural rights and social compact doctrine. Calhoun, however, was still an outspoken nationalist when Taylor first perceived that danger to the South. It is to Taylor's credit that he did not allow this insight to reduce his faith in the democratic process. In the Jeffersonian tradition Taylor scarcely anticipated that the majority might prey upon helpless minorities. Special interests, Taylor cautioned, would seek to delude the electorate into acting contrary to their own welfare. It was Taylor and not Calhoun, as Mr. Spain suggests, who began to build a constitutional refuge against sectional majorities. Taylor's program, moreover, was more than legalistic. It attended to the needs of practical politics and it realized the importance of economic prosperity to agriculture.

Calhoun lacked the Jeffersonian touch of kinship with the common man. Under Calhoun's leadership, therefore, the unity of agriculture was allowed to crumble and was permitted to fall to a position secondary to the maintenance of the southern way of life. Political leadership yielded to a sterile constitutionalism. Finally Calhoun abandoned natural rights and the social compact doctrine. In the opinion of this reviewer this step was a major blunder. It cost Calhoun not only the sympathy of the American West but also the world support enjoyed by the Jeffersonians. A better choice would have been to maintain with Jefferson that the freedom of one people must not be destroyed by the acts of another. In this direction, at least, the South might have retreated if necessary toward a democratic kind of southern nationalism. Having abandoned natural rights, Calhoun and his successors lost both the West and the world.

Natural rights were not a fleeting doctrine, as Mr. Spain would have us believe. Calhoun's own downfall stemmed from his relativism. In exchanging public commendation for natural rights, Calhoun grasped a two-edged sword which must destroy his cause, whether he chose concurrent majority or outright secession.

Washington, D. C.

BERNARD DRELL

THE ANTISLAVERY ORIGINS OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT. By *Jacobus tenBroek*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. vi, 232. \$3.00.)

IN this little volume, Dr. tenBroek has presented and digested a great deal of relatively unused evidence bearing on the development of American constitutional theory and law. Pamphlets and other documentary products of the early abolitionist movement are analyzed to show the growth of the theory and plan of action of those who led the way toward freedom and equal rights for the Negro.

The usefulness of the work is augmented by a usable index, by a list of source materials used, and by a table of court cases. By careful analysis of the evolution of the Fourteenth Amendment the author points to the large influence of natural rights theory and a concept of centralized national powers under the Constitution. Dr. tenBroek recognizes that consistent and informed logic is not always present. He traces the growth of these ideas (Part I), their popularization (Part II), and their final realization in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments (Part III and IV). The author's concern is only with the first and fifth sections of the Fourteenth Amendment. A minor criticism might be that although this could be justified easily enough in the light of the lasting significance of these sections, no attempt is made to do so.

A major point emphasized in the well-documented presentation is the abolitionists' view that a positive obligation rather than a simple restriction was involved in the prohibition of government action in the Bill of Rights. This compelled legislation to secure full and equal substantive as well as procedural rights. Abolitionist thought also included a broad view of the comity clause and of national citizenship. The Fourteenth Amendment was merely a repetition and clarification of those things adopted by the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, and regarded as part of our proper constitutional interpretation even before that.

Although undoubtedly these notions were the property of an extremely vocal group who helped to develop the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, it is easy to exaggerate their importance. If there is a noteworthy weakness in this study, it would appear to be in the consideration of the immediate background of the Fourteenth Amendment, especially in the evaluation of forces then at work. The critical reader will notice the lack of reference to unpublished correspond-

ence and to newspaper reports of speeches made by congressmen before their constituents. Such materials would show other motivations of a more practical political nature than that revealed. Although they would not necessarily repudiate the central findings of Dr. tenBroek, they would probably place his discussion in better perspective and make his conclusions less sharply drawn.

In a work of this kind, involving as it does a close analysis and logical development of point after point toward a conclusion, there is bound to be a lack of total agreement on the part of all readers. Nevertheless, this little book is surely a contribution of value and it has been written in a competent and scholarly manner which indicates the breadth of the author's background.

Mississippi State College for Women

JOSEPH B. JAMES

DRED SCOTT'S CASE. By *Vincent C. Hopkins*. (New York: Fordham University Press; distrib. by Declan X. McMullen Company. 1951. Pp. ix, 204. \$4.00.)

THIS book represents a thorough combing of presumably all available records concerning the famous Dred Scott Case. It brings the story together within the compass of a single volume, thereby rendering a service to all who would locate a full statement of the history of the case without resort to volumes concerned in part with other topics. It weighs the evidence carefully and its judgments are restrained and disciplined.

Such are the merits of the book. It does not mark discovery of any large amount of evidence not previously available to the reader. As the author tells us, it still leaves us largely ignorant of Dred Scott, whose freedom was involved along with that of his family—leaves us ignorant even of his acquisition of the historically known euphonious name, which at some time seems to have replaced the more common name of "Sam." A prime difficulty of authorship is noted in the first paragraph of the first chapter: "To tell the story of a slave is, of necessity, to tell the story, largely, of his masters. The latter usually left some records: they married, paid taxes, served in the armed forces, drew up last wills and testaments. Of the former, as a class, we have only chance references in the papers of their masters" (p. 1). So it is that Dred Scott remains largely a shadow in the history of the famous case which bears his name.

As for the case itself, which by many is believed to have precipitated the Civil War, so numerous are the unknown factors, so unanswerable are the "might have beens," that men will continue to differ as to whether the Supreme Court made a tragic if not dastardly mistake in using the case to pass upon the constitutionality of the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories when it might have decided the case without passing on that point—on a point which was vital to the country if not to Dred Scott. Noting the fact that all but one of the justices thought the point belonged to the case the author says, persuasively: "If they had

not spoken, they would have been attacked as delinquent. If there had been no decision, men would probably ask, in the years to come, why the last peaceful means of settling the issue that precipitated the Civil War had not been tried" (p. vi). The decision became a football of abolitionist and Republican propaganda—a fact which the author does not fully discuss. He is no doubt right that the question as to judicial neglect of duty would have been asked had the war come without the decision. It probably would have come—but assuming that, we need to know when and under what circumstances, if we are to measure the judicial impact; and we are still left with the question whether the judicial process, for reasons explainable by its essential nature, ought to reserve decision to points essential to decision of a case at hand and ought never to project itself into controversies dividing society as a whole even more deeply than they divide the parties before the court. The book makes no addition to the existing body of thought on this subject.

Johns Hopkins University

CARL BRENT SWISHER

THE GENERAL WHO MARCHED TO HELL: WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN AND HIS MARCH TO FAME AND INFAMY. By *Earl Schenck Miers*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1951. Pp. xxiii, 349, xvii. \$4.50.)

WILLIAM Tecumseh Sherman's shadow dominates this cogently written estimate of the most hated, debated campaign of the American Civil War. The author sought "to reconstruct attitudes that must have existed in the minds of those charged with the direction of events" in the conflict of North and South. Mr. Miers has brought new light and understanding to this difficult task.

Sherman himself is the chief character; not even Grant matched him in fierceness—or infamy. The author depicts "Cump"—to use Sherman's West Point nickname—as one who rarely put his best foot forward, even in President Lincoln's presence. On the contrary, he was hesitant, confused, "stubbornly inarticulate." Often his temper would flare "like a lucifer match."

What manner of man was this vengeful genius of march, battle, and pursuit? As a "shavetail," graduating from West Point at sixteen, he hated his red hair, yet when he tried to dye it, the outcome was a hideous green! Ordered to Fort Moultrie in 1830, he was bored with life as an Army officer but loved the society of Charleston. He studied law, but after his first case exploded with a mortifying defeat, gave it up. Forty years later, when the American Civil War began, Sherman sated his hatred of the Confederate officers who recently had resigned from the United States Army.

In the beginning of that epochal conflict, Sherman proved as tactically timid in the field as Grant had been in the West. In 1864, however, Sherman exulted when President Lincoln reluctantly authorized the "March to the Sea," through

Georgia to Savannah. "War is war," his initial phrase, he changed to "War is Hell!"

If ever an age of hate was ordered by military authority, it was when the rejuvenated, well-fed, conquering columns of Sherman's Army chased the Confederates into South Carolina. General Grant, a profane man himself, had demurred when Sherman's plan to sweep through the Carolinas was first adopted. On December 14, 1865, almost within sight of Savannah, Georgia, Major Connelly, an aide to Sherman, superintended the crossing of the Savannah River. South Carolina was plunged into the purgatory of defeat, conflagration, and utter despair. The march through Georgia was, in comparison, a mere maneuver.

As Sherman arranged the marches after crossing north of the Savannah he decreed: "There's damn little for you infantrymen to destroy after I have passed through this Hell-hole of Secession." At Branchville, South Carolina, General Sherman deliberately unleashed "his licentious troops to ravage and violate." The author, whose research was amazingly deep and solid, portrays the terrors of the ravages and violations of the troops, sutlers, "dog-robbers," "bummers" and other camp followers.

South Carolinians hated Sherman not so much for his military triumphs, as for the heinous plundering and his truculent refusal to permit Federal soldiers to guard the women and children. Whatever his military skill, Sherman's shame continues to burn.

This is a most competent piece of research, characterization, and a bill of indictment of a great general who, as the author well says in his title, "marched to Hell."

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE FORT MILTON

YEARS OF MADNESS: A REAPPRAISAL OF THE CIVIL WAR. By William E. Woodward. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1951. Pp. viii, 311. \$4.00.)

THE general reader will find this little volume a swiftly moving, readable account of the Civil War years, but the student of American history, familiar with the historical literature of the last twenty-five years, will find no appraisal essentially new. Woodward's thesis that these were years of madness filled with decisions and actions that were "absolutely foolish," and that the war "could have been avoided without loss to any American citizen" follows in general Professor J. G. Randall's interpretation of "the blundering generation," Professor A. O. Craven's thesis of "the repressible conflict," and George Fort Milton's presentation of "the needless war." He has no difficulty demonstrating that blunders were made and that passion and hate all too frequently triumphed over cold clear logic, but he fails to show how blunders could have been avoided or how passions could have been curbed. Woodward's thesis also holds that there were numerous occa-

sions after the war was underway "when it might have been ended with great satisfaction to both sides," but that both sides neglected these or rejected them with scorn. So swiftly does his pen move, however, that these occasions are barely mentioned and the utter impossibility of peace when one side will accept nothing short of independence and the other nothing less than the restoration of the Union is completely overlooked.

The main cause of the war Woodward discovers in the failure of the two sections to resolve their differences on the question of slavery expansion in the territories. The major responsibility for this failure he places upon the South, which was insisting upon a principle that could never be realized, for geographic and climatic conditions made the further expansion of slavery out of the question. The basic cause of the South's defeat he finds in Jefferson Davis' insistence upon remaining on the defensive and defending the Confederacy at all points. He recognizes the significance of such other factors as the South's inferior economic resources and its state rights philosophy, but none of these was so important as Davis' cautious policy.

Woodward has compressed into a brief volume much of the history of these complicated years. In the first quarter of the book he evaluates the causes of the war and in so doing dips far back into colonial foundations for the beginnings of sectional differences and swiftly describes the development of North and South through the years to 1860. He recognizes significant differences but holds that the sections had more in common and that war was madness. Except for two brief chapters on Reconstruction, the remainder of the book is devoted to the years of actual conflict with attention to political, economic, diplomatic, and military aspects. In so brief a treatment the author must of necessity generalize much and touch but lightly many points. He skips freely through the years and over the battlefields with an assurance few other students of this period would have. Occasionally errors of fact creep in while at many points brevity defeats exactness and clarity.

Readers familiar with Woodward's earlier writings will not be surprised to find this, his last work, completed shortly before his death, interesting, provocative, and critical. With twentieth-century hindsight he is quick to point out the errors of all leaders—North and South, civil and military. All too frequently he overlooks the problems these men faced and the accomplishments they achieved.

University of California, Los Angeles

BRainerd DYER

THE TRANSPORTATION REVOLUTION, 1815-1860. By *George Rogers Taylor*. [Economic History of the United States, Volume IV.] (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1951. Pp. xvii, 490. \$4.50.)

This stimulating volume, of far broader import than its title suggests, is nothing less than a thoroughgoing description and critical reappraisal of the forces

which fashioned the commercial and industrial development of the United States from the close of the War of 1812 to the eve of the Civil War. Using, in addition to standard sources, a vast amount of recent monographic material, and bringing a fresh approach both to specific data and the broader topics themselves, Professor Taylor has marshaled both evidence and logic to demand revision of many a long-accepted conclusion. As a result, he has produced a book that is not only informative and superbly integrated but which stands as the most challenging and provocative work to appear in this field in many a year.

The underlying premise, to which all portions of the book are related, is that it was primarily the "revolution" in transportation that converted the decentralized agricultural and mercantile republic of 1815 into the reasonably close-knit national business community of 1860. The first 150 pages, logically enough, are devoted to a convincing demonstration of that proposition. In the course of it, and within the limits imposed by space, Professor Taylor gives the most lucid, up-to-date account available of the successive development of roads and bridges, canals, lake and river steamboats, railroads, the merchant marine, the telegraph, and the cable. Omitted only (and possibly by design in view of Professor Gates's forthcoming companion volume) is any but the most casual reference to the growing overland trade routes of the trans-Missouri West. He concludes his demonstration and drives home his key point by spotlighting the revolutionary changes in the costs and speed of both overland and ocean transportation and communication that were achieved during the thirty-five critical years under consideration.

The next fifty-odd pages, devoted to domestic and foreign trade, are equally informative. But their chief value arises from the new emphasis the author insists upon assigning to certain factors hitherto largely overlooked. In respect to domestic trade, he maintains, it was the bitter competition that each new form of transportation had to wage against previously established devices that characterized the period and profoundly affected the rate and nature of American industrial development. Consequently he centers his discussion around such topics as turnpike *vs.* water and rail transport, competing water routes, and railways *vs.* waterways; against that background his analysis of the patterns and volume of trade gain new and fuller meaning. In respect to foreign trade Professor Taylor refuses to be bound by the venerated but unreliable statistical summaries which, he asserts, must be broken down in order, for example, to separate exports from re-exports, explore the origin and destination of trade, examine shifts in goods exchanged, and assess accurately the items determining the balance sheet of international indebtedness. His analysis that follows is as lucid as the subject is complex. In the course of it, among other things, he focuses needed attention upon the effect of changing price levels and raises serious doubt as to the presumed extent of foreign investment during the period.

The latter half of *The Transportation Revolution* considers the development, in turn, of manufacturing, laboring conditions and the labor movement, financial

institutions, prices and economic fluctuations, and the role of both state and federal government. Throughout these chapters runs the unifying theme of rapidly increasing economic nationalism brought about, primarily, by the revolution in transportation. Yet Professor Taylor never falls into the trap of exclusive determinism; his theme, sometimes near the forefront, sometimes in the background, serves chiefly as a standard of integration and relevance. Within such a scheme of organization, each topic is fully and meticulously treated in its own right. As elsewhere, his revision of emphasis and refusal to accept traditional statistics is challenging. His underscoring of the extent to which the states participated in business affairs is, for example, long overdue. So is his defense of the commercial banking situation between 1834 and 1864.

Throughout the book, the author constantly demonstrates his ability to make clear the interdependence of apparently disparate factors and to select and expound illustrative material in surprising detail without obscuring the main thread of either his narrative or argument. His style, though precise, is above all clear and pleasing to read. Professor Taylor covers a vast amount of ground in these pages, yet does it without imparting the least sense of pressure. He even finds time to comment on the various sides of such controversial issues as the Second Bank of the United States, and to point out, at frequent intervals, where further research is needed. The forty-page critical bibliography is a mine of information made doubly useful by the frank but judicious comments of the author. Illustrations, tables, and appendixes are ample and pertinent, and the index leaves nothing to be desired.

To say merely that this is a good book is a gross understatement. However familiar much of the subject matter inevitably is, Professor Taylor has approached it with a refreshingly new viewpoint, and drawn from it interpretations that lead to a far better comprehension than heretofore possible of the forces at work during 1815-60. In so doing he has forced a reappraisal of the relevance of that period to the whole course of our economic development.

Northwestern University

RICHARD C. OVERTON

THE UPROOTED: THE EPIC STORY OF THE GREAT MIGRATIONS THAT MADE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By *Oscar Handlin*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1951. Pp. 310. \$4.00.)

A STORY of vast proportions is unfolded before us in this book. Professor Handlin sketches the disintegration of the time-honored Old World village society which drove thousands upon thousands to take refuge in emigration. He describes the miseries of the crossing, the cold welcome and disillusionment that were in store for the immigrants as most of them were "trapped," so to speak, in the city slums, never reaching the farm land of which they had dreamed. The reaction of the immigrants to each new experience is pictured with the emotional

warmth and psychological insight of one who has been close to the newcomers. In the midst of innumerable individual tragedies, the movement as a whole was saved from becoming tragic by the tenacity and, at the same time, flexibility with which the immigrant groups were able to attain a certain harmony, unconscious perhaps, between the efforts to maintain their cultural identity and the struggle to find their place in the land of their adoption. Emphasis is placed upon their reaction to the varying attitudes of the self-styled "real Americans": indifference, exploitation, the ideal of the "melting pot," Know-Nothingism, the smug hundred-percentism which reached a climax in World War I, and the policy of exclusion that followed it.

It is hardly correct to call this "the first study to examine the meaning of immigration . . . from the point of view of the people who were involved in it," but, as far as I know, there is no similar study of such wide scope. Nevertheless, Professor Handlin has not fulfilled his promise. Instead of showing the effects of immigration on the 35,000,000 people who came to our shores in the nineteenth century, his book is actually a study of those immigrants only who came from the village background of central and southern Europe and were stranded in our eastern cities, notably New York. It is questionable how far the sweeping generalities of the book have a universal application, even to this group. There are, for example, authentic accounts showing that the crossing was not always an unmitigated horror and that the milk of human kindness was not entirely lacking in the reception accorded the new arrivals.

The serious weakness of the book, however, lies in the feeble attempts to include other immigrant groups which, though numerically smaller, are important and have a history all their own. To illustrate: in discussing the European background, the author uses misleading examples (pp. 21 and 36) from Norway, a country which did not conform to the pattern of his description; and in the chapter entitled "The Ghettos," only a hasty detour is made from the slums of New York to the sod huts of the prairie. There is very little to indicate the diversity in the life of the immigrants: to show, for instance, that the farmers of the Midwest, who brought with them political training and took an interest in national affairs from the first, did not share the experience of the slum population enmeshed in ward politics. The author apparently knows only those immigrants who never got far from the Battery. It is to be doubted whether all of these lived frustrated lives.

St. Olaf College

KAREN LARSEN

THE FRENCH EDUCATION OF HENRY ADAMS. By *Max I. Baym*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 358. \$5.00.)

THIS book is a notable contribution to the increasing literature about Henry Adams. It is "part of a larger work involving Adams's approach to philosophy and science, as well as historiography" (p. x), and its specific purpose is to

ascertain and measure "the extent of Adams's indebtedness to French thought" (p. vii).

Dr. Baym's method has been to examine the books and pamphlets owned by Henry Adams, now in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Western Reserve University, and elsewhere, paying particular attention to underscorings and marginal comments. Many of the underscored passages and marginalia are reproduced, Appendix III containing all those in the Jules Simon edition of Descartes. Other works, which Adams is known to have read, or at least to have seen, because he has referred to them, or because, for example, the charge books of the Harvard College Library show that he borrowed them, have also been examined, and the author is well known to have a long and intimate acquaintance with all of Adams' published writings and letters as well as with a considerable amount of manuscript material.

In chapter iv Dr. Baym studies the influence of three French historians and finds that in Michelet Adams found imagination, in Renan a mixture of science and metaphysics reduced to art, and in Taine the power to generalize on a grand scale. Of philosophers Descartes and Pascal receive most attention (chap. vi), for Adams, in his reading of these two, was "tossed between the schools that argued from 'unity to multiplicity or from multiplicity to unity'" and between which he tried to effect a linking (pp. 183-84). Chapter v, the longest of the book, is devoted to "Belles lettres," and it is in this field that Dr. Baym has made his most original contribution and in which, probably, he found his task most difficult, for the extent of Adams' reading in all genres, from the eleventh century to his own times, was prodigious.

This long and intensive study of Adams' mind "in the things it fed on" has led the author to the conclusion that, through wide reading in French philosophy, science, historical works, and belles-lettres, Adams achieved an "intimate contact with the creative spirit of France," to which may be traced, in good part, "his epigrammatic incisiveness, his flashes of irony and fits of satire, his quest of unity and his exposure of chaos; his wistful moments in the midst of philosophic reflection; his poetic insight into the realm of science; and finally, his failure image of himself which goes hand in hand with his exoticism" (p. 231).

Dr. Baym offers his own solution of the Henry Adams mystery—the concept of himself as a failure—as follows:

Seemingly he recapitulated here in America the whole romantic tradition of Europe. This tradition included aesthetic pessimism, in whose framework he built up a personality image which he came to enjoy artistically. The image was that of the failure, the heroic failure. He came to enjoy the spectacle doubly: on the stage as an actor; from the wings as an onlooker who revels in the gaping of the audiences in the galleries and in the pit [p. 224].

This reviewer, whose recollections of Henry Adams in Paris are still vivid, believes that Dr. Baym has constructed an important part of the foundation-work on which any complete study of Adams' intellectual genius must be based.

In the larger work which he contemplates the author will doubtless bring the "French education" in suitable perspective with other factors and influences, of which there were many, but the importance of the former cannot be questioned. Paris, "for the world contains no other spot . . . where education can be pursued from every side" (*Education*, p. 403, Modern Library ed.), became Henry Adams' second home. And yet, paradoxically, in his French home, surrounded by the art and literature and scholarship of France, he had few French friends. There is no evidence of personal acquaintance with scholars in the very fields of thought with which he was most concerned—with Bédier, Bémont, Langlois, Henri Beer, or with his near neighbor, Henri Bergson, or with many others with whom conversation and discussions would have been mutually profitable and probably exciting. He knew them only by their works.

Washington, D.C.

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND

THE MOLDING OF AMERICAN BANKING: MEN AND IDEAS. Part II, 1840-1910. By *Fritz Redlich*. [History of American Business Leaders, Volume II, Part 2.] (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1951. Pp. 517. \$6.00.)

THE lack of a comprehensive history of American banking is one of the serious deficiencies of American history. This vacuum Mr. Redlich has sought to fill with his two-volume work. The first volume covered the period up to 1840 (see *AHR*, LIII [July, 1948], 843). This second and concluding volume continues the story up to 1910. It is comprised of a series of essays on various aspects of American banking, arranged partly in chronological order but largely according to topic. The author states that he inserted a "particular topic whenever the presentation had come to the period in which the topic gained a special importance." Indeed, the lengthier chapters, such as "Private Banking," "Cooperation among American Banks," and "Investment Banking," begin during the period covered by the first volume. Appendixes, footnote references, bibliography, and indexes comprise almost half the book.

The volume contains considerable information gathered from numerous monographs, government documents, and the like, and even some from unpublished material. Certainly from a bibliographical standpoint, it should prove useful.

The very complexity of the subject is bound to cause some ambiguities and confusion. A case in point is the author's discussion of the North American Trust and Banking Company, a New York concern which was formed in 1838 and failed in 1841. Mr. Redlich states that the bank borrowed \$300,000 from the London merchant banking firm of Thomas Wilson & Co. (p. 343). A careful reading of the court records, however (see *Shaw v. Leavitt*, 3 Sandf. Ch 178, at 179 [New York, 1845]), reveals that the creditor-debtor relationship was, if

anything, just the reverse. It was the English firm that, finding itself in difficulty, borrowed securities from the American bank. Nor is, as the author thinks, the bank's capital of \$2,000,000 large for the time, since mostly it was in mortgage bonds on the real estate of the stockholders.

Mr. Redlich is particularly concerned with determining the factors making for "creative entrepreneurship" in banking. Such an undertaking, however, requires much more specialized intensive investigation than can be covered in such broad surveys as the present. In the absence of such an investigation, one slips into inadequate judgments. Here, again, is an example: Jay Cooke, who developed popular subscriptions for government loans, is characterized as a "creative entrepreneur" because, as a "newcomer . . . in . . . investment banking . . . he would not lose prestige through failure." He "had not as yet accumulated large wealth which would be endangered by errors of judgment" (p. 357). Yet J. P. Morgan's "creative achievements" in finance are attributed to his "experience, connections, character, and wealth" (p. 383).

It may be, as Mr. Redlich avers, that Nicholas Biddle has not yet been fully appreciated as a "creative entrepreneur," but Biddle's role will not be enhanced by denunciations of his shrewd critic, Albert Gallatin, as "dogmatic and a moralist." Gallatin can hardly be dismissed as the president of a small bank in New York (p. 263). Such easy judgments detract from a useful addition to the none too plentiful literature on the history of American banking.

Columbia University

JOSEPH DORFMAN

AMERICAN CONSERVATISM IN THE AGE OF ENTERPRISE: A STUDY OF WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER, STEPHEN J. FIELD, AND ANDREW CARNEGIE. By *Robert Green McCloskey*. [Harvard Political Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 193. \$3.25.)

THE author of this well-written, interesting, and even inspiring book has set himself the task of investigating the evolution of "conservative" political thought in the period from the close of the Civil War through the first decade of the twentieth century. "More specifically it is focused on the rationale that was created . . . to justify the exemption of business enterprise from unwanted government interference." The term "conservative" is not defined, but it is used in line with present American practice. The main purpose of the study is to examine how the conservative triumph was facilitated by a degeneration of the democratic tradition formulated by Jefferson and Jackson. Essentially the book falls into the field of intellectual history just as much as into that of political science.

The author's approach meets with much sympathy on the part of the reviewer. The development is focused on three men: the philosopher William Graham Sumner, the jurist Stephen J. Field, and the business leader Andrew

Carnegie. This method implies that a nondeterministic philosophy of history underlies the presentation. This fact is brought out clearly when in each case the author describes the career and experiences of the person under investigation, and on that basis explains, at least in part, his contribution to the development of thought. The immanent logic of that development both subjectively (i.e., within the man's own frame of reference) and objectively is brought out with great lucidity. As far as chapters one through five are concerned the reviewer is glad to recognize the author's achievement.

In the sixth chapter of his book Professor McCloskey deals with Andrew Carnegie's thinking, and here the reviewer fears that he must register entire disagreement. A methodological question is involved, all the more important because several economists and economic historians are at present investigating the businessman's mind. The question is easily formulated: can the researcher working on businessmen's minds legitimately base his investigations on their published writings? This question must be answered in the negative unless the student concerned can prove that the businessman in question really wrote what was published under his name. Or to put it differently, when a wealthy and powerful American business leader "writes" a book or a pamphlet, the assumption is that he hired a ghost writer.

In the case of Carnegie we know (at least for the period in which *Triumphant Democracy* was written) who the ghost writer was: James Howard Bridge. Bridge (1856-1939), born in Manchester (England), had been Herbert Spencer's secretary from 1879 to 1884. In the latter year he came to the United States where he became Carnegie's "literary assistant," resigning from that position in 1889. How much he contributed to the *Forum* essays of 1886 and to *Triumphant Democracy* and, in turn, how great was Carnegie's share therein is not known to the reviewer, nor does he know who Carnegie's later "literary assistants" were. But it is clear that whoever uses Carnegie's books in an analysis must spend considerable research on questions like these, and only after such preliminary problems are settled can he analyze the writings. Their real importance does not lie where Professor McCloskey seeks it. Actually they are of the greatest interest for the intellectual historian who investigates the process by which philosophical ideas percolate to the masses; in this case the line runs from Spencer to Bridge, then to Bridge plus Carnegie, then to the public.

Bridge himself was no unimportant man, and he may have had a more than fifty per cent share in the book and a considerable influence on Carnegie's thinking, the latter thereby absorbing Spencerism. Bridge was shallow and had probably swallowed Spencer's philosophy hook, line, and sinker: although he was close to industrial leaders, such as Carnegie and J. C. Frick, the building of large-scale enterprises, entirely in line with Spencer's determinism, remained for him the result of "industrial evolution." Later, for reasons unknown, he fell out with Carnegie, whom he severely criticized in his *Inside History* and whom, in a 1904 speech, he praised with so many left-handed compliments that it

amounted to an attack. Bridge was at that time close to Frick, then Carnegie's bitter enemy, and still later became an employee of the former, who in the meantime had made use of Bridge's pen. These points have been stressed to show how problematic the background is, a fact which cannot be ignored. Incidentally, it also determines the value as a source of Bridge's *Inside History*, which Professor McCloskey uses uncritically. (Rumor has it that Carnegie spent much money in buying up the copies of the latter publication, as they came on the market.)

To sum up, it is not in order to use a businessman's "writings" for an analysis of any kind, unless one has an intimate knowledge of how these writings originated. One cannot use Ford's *My Life and Work* or Rockefeller's *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events* for a study of the minds of these men. Access to private correspondence, business records, diaries, drafts of speeches, and the like is indispensable for an analysis of a businessman's thinking.

Another very fundamental question is here involved. Our knowledge has become fragmentized to such a degree that every specialist is in danger of going astray. This danger can be avoided only by close co-operation or at least close contacts between researchers in related and overlapping fields. In this particular case such co-operation seems to have been lacking.

Belmont, Massachusetts

FRITZ REDLICH

THE MEMOIRS OF HERBERT HOOVER: YEARS OF ADVENTURE,
1874-1920. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xi, 496. \$4.00.)

HERBERT HOOVER AND THE RUSSIAN PRISONERS OF WORLD
WAR I: A STUDY IN DIPLOMACY AND RELIEF, 1918-1919. By
Edward F. Willis. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 67.
\$1.50.)

HISTORIES and memoirs of Hoover and the Hoover administration have been few and for the most part unrewarding. This first volume of Hoover's autobiography thus has scarcity value, even though it includes some passages previously published (as in Hoover's *A Boyhood in Iowa* [1931]); it also stands comparison with what has been written by and about other presidents. While Josephus Daniels complained of Hoover and D. F. Houston that he "never knew two men with so much information who could . . . so perfectly make the most interesting subject as dry as dust," here Hoover writes interestingly and persuasively, especially when he writes of his youth and of causes close to his heart. Many will regret that he does not tell more of his engineering career and life from 1895 to 1914 than he does (pp. 25-134).

Much of the value of a memoir depends on the circumstances of its writing. Mr. Hoover says that he wrote the first three parts of this volume in 1915-16 and in 1920-24, adding that he has avoided revision, since "the value of such memoirs is to reflect views one held at the time" (pp. v-vi). Yet occasionally

the views that he held seem remarkably close to views that he has held more recently, and occasionally he alludes to more recent problems and events—the restoration of his birthplace in the 1930's (p. 4), social security (p. 6), the armies of the thirties (p. 137), proposals for relief to Belgium in 1940–41 (pp. 233–34), and war debt repudiation (p. 427). It is frankly enough the former President who speaks in a footnote of the seizure of lead mines by the “Communist Government of Burma” (p. 102 n.), or of Czechoslovakia as a “dagger pointed at the German flank,” and, alleging Czech abuse of minorities, remarks that “when the opportunity came for Germany to remove the dagger . . . the Slovaks were glad of a chance for delivery from the Czech domination” (p. 380 n.). But is it the Hoover of 1919–24 who says that the French view “was that we should reduce the potency of the German state by truncating it through annexing Germans to Poland and Czechoslovakia and by keeping Austria separated from Germany” (p. 349)? The last part of the book, Mr. Hoover tells us (p. 432 n.), was published in summarized form in the *Saturday Evening Post* in November, 1941, and appears now without revision. The *Post* says (November 1, 1941, p. 9) that “Mr. Hoover wrote his personal memoirs of World War I” in 1934–35, and that “only minor verbal corrections and rearrangements have been made . . . so their point of view is unaltered by present events.” Yet they include quotations from Lloyd George's *Memoirs of the Peace Conference* (1939), and though the *Memoirs* now published seem more authentically in Mr. Hoover's literary style, the version in the *Post* includes passages and entire documents that do not appear in the *Memoirs*. Someone should have made these matters clear.

Edward F. Willis' careful and useful study of the negotiations concerning the Russian prisoners in Germany seems slightly misnamed, since there is so little of Hoover in a book that is said to illustrate, “against a background of military and diplomatic opposition and ineptitude, the remarkable achievement and greatness of the man who played the part of the Good Samaritan to a continent” (p. viii). Hoover in his *Memoirs* passes over the problem quickly (pp. 326–27): “I mention this subject only because it appears interminably in the documents of the times.”

The *Memoirs*, as the studies of Hoover and the Hoover administration that are beginning to appear from the Hoover War Library, whet the appetite for more. There is a first-class opportunity for a biography—preferably in more than one volume.

University of Oregon

EARL POMEROY

REGIONALISM IN AMERICA. Edited by *Merrill Jensen*. With a Foreword by Felix Frankfurter. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 425. \$6.50.)

CRITICS of American life who find and fear a monolithic culture in the United States will discover in this collection of essays eloquent testimony of

diversity and heterogeneity, for regionalism is an effective counterpoise to uniformity and standardization. Though originally read at the symposium on regionalism at the University of Wisconsin in 1949 and unequal in content and quality, these papers constitute a major contribution to the understanding and use of the regional concept. Historians, even more than their colleagues in sister disciplines, will find this volume of particular value, for many of its essays specifically examine the contributions of regionalism to their craft.

More than one fourth of the book, in fact, is devoted to papers which trace the origin of the regional concept and analyze its historical application. From an impressive variety of facts, Professor Fulmer Mood demonstrates that regionalism is neither new in theory nor an innovation in practice, but is deeply rooted in British-American thinking as early as the mid-eighteenth century. The ever-widening use of regionalism by government, business, religious, educational, professional, and fraternal institutions emerges from Professor Carstensen's analysis of the years since 1900. Both essays pay tribute to the role of Frederick Jackson Turner in giving vitality to the concept, for each presents fresh evidence from his private correspondence revealing once again the versatility and range of the Wisconsin historian's thought.

Regionalism is a concept with many facets. Essays on American literature, art, architecture, and language reveal the variety of definitions, the interdisciplinary aspects of regionalism, while the papers on the TVA, the Great Lakes cutover, and Great Plains-Missouri Valley regions argue for the validity of regional planning. From these essays it is clear that, maturely conceived, regionalism is not sectional chauvinism but emphasizes the regional balance and synthesis of our national life.

Historians will find particularly important the three essays which illustrate the application of regionalism to historical writing. Above all else, these papers demonstrate that regionalism is so flexible a point of view that it can be shaped to the intent of the author, however subjective his data. This quality is especially apparent in Professor Francis B. Simkins' study of the South. At times brilliant and always provocative, his analysis nevertheless raises serious questions for the careful student of regionalism. His complete subjectivity ("Southernism is a reality too elusive to be explained in objective terms"), lack of precise definition, absence of factual analyses and failure to achieve interregional integration seriously impair the essay's value. Since these limitations prevent regionalism from becoming anything more than a new sectionalism or a naïve provincialism, they constitute a serious deficiency. The author's reiterated complaints of colonial exploitation argue for a Balkanization of the American economy and smack of an inherent particularism, while the plea that the South be left alone to foster its own institutions and wrestle with its own problems sounds curiously anachronistic in a world of UNESCO and *Pravda*.

Professor John W. Caughey's essay on the Spanish Southwest is at once more modest and more firmly grounded in verifiable data. Anthropological, historical,

sociological, technological, physiographic, and economic facts are woven into a meaningful regional pattern which has objective bases, yet loses nothing by way of literary excellence in the narration.

"Area-kinship" is defined by Lancaster Pollard as an important criterion in judging the Pacific Northwest as a separate region. This fruitful concept, which may be new to historians but will sound familiar to sociologists, emphasizes the sense of oneness with fellow inhabitants of the same region. In this newest of American regions, this "area-kinship" has been substantially reinforced in recent years by improved communication facilities, especially highway transportation and the telephone. This reviewer regrets, however, that the author, in this historical study, makes no effort to demonstrate the effectiveness of regionalism in transcending national boundaries. Certainly, the history of this region is incomplete, even distorted, if the area which is now British Columbia is omitted. This nationalistic myopia suggests that the book might better have been entitled, "Regionalism in the United States."

Limitations on the uses of regionalism are real and deserve more attention than this volume indicates. Professor Louis Wirth sounds a note of alarm that regionalism has become a cult, a one-factor theory overemphasizing environmentalism and possessing too vague a definition to be acceptable as a scientific basis for the collection and interpretation of social data. These dangers are certainly present for the unwary social scientist but, to this reviewer at least, they are not inherent in the concept itself. More serious is the charge that regionalists too often assume a relationship between natural habitat and cultural characteristics which may be absent or in a constant state of change through the tendency of mature cultures to emancipate themselves from the soil or the pervasive influences of modern communications and transportation.

Professor Howard Odum responds to these criticisms in his evaluation of the promise of regionalism. The careful use of regionalism, he urges, calls for a synthesis of differentiation and integration in a multiple-purpose, areal-cultural unit. Again, the regionalist reminds his critics that his methodology is never regionalism *or*, but regionalism *and*. Where this universality is absent, it is the failure of the practitioner, not the technique.

Iowa State College

PAUL F. SHARP

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES. By *William H. Cartwright* and *Arthur C. Bining*. [Memorias sobre la Enseñanza de la Historia, II.] (Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comision de Historia. 1950. Pp. viii, 191. \$20.00 [m. mex.].)

The Teaching of History in the United States, which embodies two reports originally given at a meeting in Mexico City, is one of a series of volumes currently being published under the sponsorship of the Commission on History of

the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History. The purpose of the series is to acquaint historians throughout the Western Hemisphere with the work of their teaching colleagues in the several American nations.

Both of the reports are clearly and logically organized, and both are designed to give a sweeping, over-all picture of the status of history teaching in the United States. This panoramic view, which reveals only the dominant features of the landscape, will have but a limited appeal to readers in United States schools and universities, although it will help to restore perspective to those who are concerned with problems of curriculum construction. But historians in Canada and, more particularly, south of the Rio Grande will find much to interest them in this volume, and if they wish to explore the subject further they can profitably do so in the selected readings listed by each of the authors.

The reports are bulging at the seams. Professor Cartwright's discussion of "The Teaching of History in the Schools" includes three chapters on the history programs at the elementary, junior high, and senior high school levels, and four additional chapters on "The History Teacher," "The History Reading Program," "The Community and Audio-Visual Materials," and "Teaching and Learning Procedures." Professor Bining's comments on "The Teaching of History in the Colleges and Universities" encompass an even larger area, including separate chapters on "Educational Philosophies and Ideas," "Aims and Objectives," "The Survey Course and Integrated Courses," "Upper Class Courses in History," "The Major Field and Divisional Majors," "Guidance and Counseling," "Methods of Teaching," "Audio-Visual and Other Teaching Aids," "Required Reading and Written Work," "Measurement and Evaluation," "The Teacher of History," and "Graduate Work."

Cartwright's is the more satisfactory of the two reports. He had a wealth of material from which to draw his conclusions, and the report is balanced, meaty, well documented, providing, on the whole, an accurate appraisal of what is happening in the social studies classrooms of our public schools.

Bining's picture of the history program in the colleges and universities is less sharply focused, and therefore less satisfying. Perhaps, in working what is virtually virgin territory, he drew too heavily from college catalogues, which, inevitably, reflect aspiration rather than practice. Certainly he tried to compress too much information into the space allotted to him.

With so much material crammed into a small, 191-page book, it is not surprising that now and then the seams give way, spilling out unsupported generalizations. It is a tribute to the authors that the seams hold as well as they do. Considering their assignment and the audience for which they prepared their reports, Cartwright and Bining did a respectable job. But this reviewer would question the editorial decision that called for so brief a description of even one phase of the educational program in the forty-eight states, the roughly 100,000 school districts, and the approximately 1,800 institutions of higher learning in

the United States. The planning commission evidently had in mind the simpler conditions in the centralized educational organizations of the Latin-American countries rather than the complex decentralized educational system in the United States.

Washington, D. C.

LEWIS PAUL TODD

BRITISH POLICY AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF LATIN AMERICA, 1804-1828. By *William W. Kaufmann*. [Yale Historical Publications, No. LII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 238. \$3.75.)

IN a very real sense, as the author admits, this study covers familiar ground. It can hardly be expected that it will provide anything very revolutionary in the way of new facts for a period which has been well worked by some very distinguished scholars. Yet a survey of British policy toward Latin America, to match the studies of Robertson and Whitaker on American and French policy, is a reasonable enterprise, and it has been carried through with much capacity by Mr. Kaufmann. His work is clear and well-organized, and it is extremely well-written.

The most original part of this book is that which deals with the formative years. We see British foreign policy toward Latin America in the Napoleonic era in a new perspective in these pages. We gain a clearer impression of the importance to Britain of the trade with the Spanish colonies. We are made aware of the fact that in the fall of 1806, with the capture of Buenos Aires, British policy veered for a little toward an ambitious policy on the other side of the Atlantic and away from opposition to Napoleonic domination on the Continent. The change was short-lived, and ended with the defeat of General Whitlocke, but it was interesting, none the less.

It seems to the reviewer that the author missed a possibly profitable opportunity in not relating more closely to Britain's Latin-American policy the Jeffersonian embargo of 1807-1809. Certainly there was a connection, and certainly that connection has not been adequately explored.

On the period of Castlereagh's ascendancy Mr. Kaufmann contributes little that is new. But he relates the Latin-American policy of the great minister to his broad objectives in effective fashion, and his summary of Castlereagh's European policy is admirably done.

As to Canning, the treatment is equally satisfactory. In fact, the evaluation of this striking and brilliant figure is in some respects better than that of Temperley himself. It is possible to sympathize very heartily with the comments which the author makes in his bibliographical note, in which he describes Canning as "the father of Palmerston's noisy excesses and a grandparent of splendid isolationism." Such a view may be a little extreme, but it is a highly desirable corrective to the point of view expressed in Temperley's pages. But Canning's famous

boast, "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old," while good enough as oratory, seems to exaggerate the importance of his achievement in the recognition of the Spanish colonies. One may wonder, indeed, whether balance of power politics, or sheer commercial interest, was at the bottom of British policy toward Latin America.

On the bibliographical side, it is perhaps to be regretted that the author did not pay a little more attention to other than British and American sources. It is, of course, true that he is dealing with British policy, not with the policy of other states. But it is still true that the best diplomatic history is multi-archival in character, and that there is also something to be gained by the use of published sources. Mr. Kaufmann would have done well to consult A. A. Polovtsov's *Correspondance diplomatique des ambassadeurs et ministères de Russie en France et de France en Russie* for the period 1814-18 and René de Chateaubriand's *Le Congrès de Vérone* and the *Mémoires et correspondance* of Comte Jean de Villèle, for example, for the critical years 1822-23. Yet the general outline of his subject is not only sound but a useful supplement to the work that has preceded.

University of Rochester

DEXTER PERKINS

CAUDILLO: A PORTRAIT OF ANTONIO GUZMÁN BLANCO. By *George S. Wise*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 190. \$3.00.)

THE caudillo in Latin America is a political opportunist. In the years following independence caudillos appeared in one Latin-American country after another. Frequently there were several caudillos in the various countries at the same time.

The hero, or villain, of this book, depending upon the point of view, was a Venezuelan. This nation has produced a large number of political leaders who might well be labeled "caudillos." Among them are Páez, Monages, Falcón, Crespo, Castro, and Gómez. Guzmán Blanco was not the best or the worst example of *caudillismo* in Venezuela. He was a great president, who seized control of the government and retained it for some twenty years. Guzmán Blanco had a number of the typical characteristics of the caudillo phenomenon. The author points out that he was primarily an "academic civilian" who, to further personal plans, became a militarist. He was a man of culture, with many liberal ideas, and he had the good of his country at heart. His hardness was undoubtedly calculated and his cruelty was ostentatious. He was greedy, but he also was a good administrator. He had untold enemies and many friends, both of whom either damned or praised him to the limit of their vocabularies. Probably no one will ever succeed in fully analyzing the mind of Guzmán Blanco.

Dr. Wise has here attempted an objective evaluation of the man and the period in which he performed. He has tried to see the man as he was and to paint an understanding portrait for contemporary readers.

Dr. Wise develops his story through seven chapters. He begins with races and classes in colonial Venezuela, and speaks of the institutional structure of the colony. Next, he discusses the antecedents of Guzmán Blanco, and deals to some extent with what he calls "ideological irresponsibility." He also deals with Guzmán Blanco's use of force and the financial chicanery in which the dictator was engaged. Chapter x is entitled "Aspects of a Caudillo Regime: Personalism." Here, in some respects, is the explanation of the whys and wherefores of dictators in general, and especially Latin-American dictators. The volume concludes with a five-page bibliography consisting chiefly of so-called general works, and an index of six pages which leaves much to be desired. There is an almost useless map of New Granada, Venezuela, and Guiana. The frontispiece contains a portrait of the dictator.

Dr. Wise's work constitutes an important addition to the growing number of volumes dealing with individual Latin Americans who have for one reason or another achieved a niche in the Hall of Fame.

University of Florida

A. CURTIS WILGUS

THE PERÓN ERA. By *Robert J. Alexander*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 239. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Alexander of Rutgers University with this remarkably lucid and compact little volume partially fills a most serious void in the fields of contemporary Latin-American and world affairs. In seventeen short chapters and a postscript *The Perón Era* attempts to analyze the military regime which has controlled Argentina since 1930 and more particularly to trace the path to dictatorship taken by Juan Domingo and Evita. The author in most instances speaks with a seriousness of purpose and decisiveness that reminds one of the Peróns themselves. Dr. Alexander probably dared not do otherwise lest he become confounded in the maze of contradictions which characterizes the Peróns.

The role of the military vis-à-vis labor in the Peróns' rise to and continuance in power is an interesting one as outlined here, more so because the author, perhaps rightly in view of the tremendous change that Argentina has experienced during the last decade, never quite establishes the importance of one group over the other. He best summarizes his thoughts when he observes: "It seems that until the support of Perón among the working classes is seriously weakened, the Army will not attempt a revolt. It will not risk a clash with hundreds of thousands of determined workers, a clash which it could undoubtedly win, but which would be detrimental to its interests for years to come, perhaps for generations" (p. 124).

Professor Alexander is an authority on Latin-American labor, and the welcome intimacy he displays when treating this subject is lacking in other parts of the book, particularly when he deals with the church and university education.

The impression that the author leaves that the university students in Argentina stand for democracy could be challenged. The methods they have used traditionally in attempts to attain their goals and their, at times, ultra-nationalism do not bode well for the democratic process. They may be anti-Perón, but that does not in itself prove them democratic.

It is difficult to judge the author's "economics" of the Perón era. I think that Professor Alexander in his efforts to keep his discussion of economics on a semi-popular level oversimplifies a vastly complex system to the point where some of its more novel and intriguing aspects cannot be adequately appreciated. Also I believe that in such an abbreviated presentation the relatively uninformed will be unable to distinguish clearly between economic policy and political policy. The reader more seriously interested in Argentine economics might refer to the very able Ph.D. dissertation done by Robert Rennie at Harvard University.

The chapter "Peronismo for Export" deserves special mention because it is particularly well done and leaves no doubt as to Argentina's ascendancy in the Western Hemisphere, or of her "*lider's*" ability to exploit his every advantage. The marvelous restraint exhibited by the author when he writes of dead-pan Evita is to be admired although it gives one the feeling of being cheated.

Dr. Alexander pulls out most of the usual stops and no new ones when he launches into United States-Argentine relations. Our conduct toward Perón has varied from "violent antagonism to slavish ingratiating" (p. 198). "Just what were the motives for this complete change of heart [the \$125 million loan] toward Perón probably only the highest officials in the State Department know—and perhaps they are not quite sure" (p. 212). While Dr. Alexander apparently holds the State Department responsible for United States policy or lack of it in Argentina he, unlike some of the department's critics, acknowledges that irresponsible United States businessmen, defense-minded United States military personnel, and local politicians who become foreign policy experts once they reach the Halls of Congress have perhaps at times forced the State Department into rather untenable positions.

This is a valuable volume, based upon documentary sources and numerous personal interviews. It was needed. It probably lacks sufficient feeling for the people with whom it deals, and exceptions could be taken to a number of the interpretations. But it succeeds in making its point that two cunning and ambitious demagogues have created in Argentina a totalitarian state which would if unopposed rapidly infect a major part of our hemisphere.

Stanford University

JOHN J. JOHNSON

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

THE RISE AND FALL OF CIVILIZATION: AN INQUIRY INTO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CIVILIZATION. By *Shepard B. Clough*. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1951, pp. xiii, 291, \$4.50.) Recent years have seen much discussion of the rise and fall of civilizations, partly no doubt because of writers such as Spengler and Toynbee, and partly perhaps because of the distressing events of the last thirty or forty years. In the little book before us, Professor Clough puts the problem in economic terms. He defines "civilization" as distinguished achievement in the arts and sciences, coupled with the attainment of security, and he maintains that it comes only at times of economic prosperity or shortly thereafter when men are still living on their accumulated savings. To prove this thesis he sketches an economic history of the Western world, mentioning from time to time the writers, artists, and scientists who illuminated prosperous periods. Rather more than half the book is devoted to the civilizations of antiquity. As the author is not at home in this field, he falls into many errors, large or small, but in the second half of the book he writes with a firmer hand. He has no trouble in showing that economic prosperity and high civilization often go together, but he fails to explain the connection between them. Is it because it is always possible to find plenty of contemporary Isaiahs and Platos, Dantes and Miltons, Galileos and Darwins, if only we are able and willing to pay for them? Or is it because peoples which have the energy, intellect, and skill to produce great works of art and literature will probably also be able to create successful economic systems, even if they have as little to start with in the way of natural resources as did the ancient Greeks? But why did the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, when economic prosperity and the general standard of living reached their highest point before modern times, produce so little in the way of "civilization"? And how could a desperately poor country like Palestine produce one of the world's greatest literatures as well as religious ideas that now form the basis of the world's three most important religions? While Clough traces the rise of economic systems in considerable detail, he has little to say about their decline. Sometimes he seems to attribute decline to too many nonproductive expenditures, for tombs, temples, and other aspects of what he calls "civilization," but more often he blames war. Perhaps the author would have been able to explain these matters more satisfactorily, had he been permitted to write a larger book.

J. W. SWAIN, *University of Illinois*

ESSAYS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY. Written in Memory of the Late Professor William Thomas Morgan by His Former Students at Indiana University. Edited by *John J. Murray*. [Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series No. 10.] (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1951, pp. 150, cloth \$3.50, paper \$2.25.) The late Professor Morgan might well be gratified with this volume, edited by his *Mantelkind* at Indiana, Professor Murray. Extensive publication is listed in Appendix I, career and character affectionately sketched in the introduction. Seven serious, specialized essays, evidence of ability to pass on to students skills as well as interests, make up the bulk of the volume. Professor Morgan's own love for the period of twenty-five years after the Glorious Revolution is revealed by the titles of the first five: Doris Reed's "The Tackers in the Election of 1705"; Catherine Langford's "The

General Election of 1713"; R. H. Irrmann's "*Gallia Frustra* . . . 1696," which shows that the fleet was the sure shield against invasion as J. J. Murray's "Anglo-French Naval Skirmishing off Newfoundland, 1697" shows it, under Norris and his successors, as the sword of empire. Ruth Bourne, "Antigua, 1710," tells how Governor Daniel Parke was brought to death by a combination of amoral empire-builders, local circumstances, and deficient colonial administration at home. J. E. Swain, "Talleyrand and the Independence of Belgium," and D. W. Trafford, "The Ruhr and French Security as Reflected in the British and French Presses, 1923," prove that Professor Morgan, while transmitting his interest in a special aspect of history to his students, did not inhibit their interest in other topics or fail to impart the techniques appropriate to them. Each essay makes contributions of factual matter, of interpretation and of bibliography useful to the specialist in the period to which it belongs, a utility which makes the absence of an index the more regrettable. Would Professor Morgan's red pencil have passed all spellings and locutions? "Wedgewood" and "Biddeford," "squelched" and "boosted," to mention some? Who dares demand perfection in historical work which demands so many confluent perfections?

WARNER F. WOODRING, *Ohio State University*

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939-1946. Volume I: March-September 1939. Selected and Edited by Members of the Survey Department, Royal Institute of International Affairs, under the Direction of *Arnold J. Toynbee*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951, pp. xxxii, 576, \$9.00.) The great and ever-increasing number of published official documents issued by national governments and international organizations creates a serious problem for most instructors in history and international relations in educational institutions which are limited in their library funds. These instructors—and many others—will rejoice to know that the publication of *Documents on International Affairs*, issued during the interwar years under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, has been resumed. The latter and *Survey of International Affairs*, issued under the same auspices, were both interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War. Both series will be resumed at the point at which the treaties of peace were signed with the minor defeated powers of Europe in 1947, and the first of the new annual volumes will be *Survey of International Affairs, 1947-8* and *Documents on International Affairs, 1947-8*. During the period between the wars these volumes were produced independently of one another; with the resumption of the series, an attempt is to be made to co-ordinate them more closely. The contents of the new *Documents* series will therefore be selected primarily with an eye to supplementing and illustrating the companion volumes in the *Survey* series. To bridge the gap between 1938 and 1947 special series of both *Surveys* and *Documents* are to be issued, and the volume under review is the first in this special *Documents* series. Most of the items included are relevant to the first volume of the *Survey* for 1939-46, which will deal with the six months preceding the outbreak of the war in September, 1939. Part I, "Secret Axis Diplomacy and Planning of Aggression by Germany: 24 October 1936 to 17 December 1938," however, obviously antedates the companion volume of the *Survey*. The documents included in this section are drawn from G. Ciano's *L'Europe verso la catastrofe* (1948), *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945, from the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry*, Vols. I and II (1949), *Documents secrets du Ministère des Affaires étrangères d'Allemagne*, Vols. I-III (1946-47), *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 1945-1946* (42 vols., 1947-49), and *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (8 vols., 1946-47), all of which became available

only after the end of the war. The other nine parts of the volume include innumerable excerpts from the official documents of Germany, Italy, Russia, Poland, France, Great Britain, the United States, and the League of Nations, from a few German, Russian, French, British, and American newspapers, and from the writings, speeches, or letters of about a dozen men who played prominent roles in the period. The editors have done an excellent job of selecting pertinent documents to reveal to the reader the sources upon which the written history of the period rests. But their decision not to include any documents published in the British Foreign Office series covering the period from March, 1938, to the outbreak of the war will be regretted by many instructors in this country. The great pressure on space is readily understandable but the assumption that the Foreign Office series will be accessible is probably over-optimistic in so far as hundreds of small college libraries in the United States are concerned.

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Ancient History

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EGYPT AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By *Allan Chester Johnson*. [Jerome Lectures, Second Series.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1951, pp. vii, 183, \$3.50.) One of our few outstanding authorities on Egypt in the Roman and Byzantine periods here presents his Jerome Lectures as monographic essays. These essays deal with fiduciary currency and its regulation, inflation, land tenure, serfdom, taxation, and the administration of Byzantine Egypt. At the end of the volume, the author gives a series of notes and citations for each chapter and an adequate index. Professor Johnson is more careful than most of us are in pointing out the lack of documentation on a particular point and although he states some hypotheses ably and critically, he is extremely frank and honest about the gaps in our knowledge. To this reviewer, the following points were especially well-handled and meticulously documented: (1) the systematic use of fiduciary currency in Egypt and the improbability, that, prior to the late third century, inflation was more than a gradual "creeping" process; (2) the Egyptian farmer, in the time of Diocletian, was probably better off so far as taxes were concerned, than he had ever been before; (3) the successful attempts of the emperors to prevent the development of large estates and of serfdom in Egypt; (4) the decline of Alexandria as a center of trade in articles coming from the East. A great deal of work has been published on the economic history of this period in both the Western and Eastern empires, but one has difficulty in remembering a work that shows the clarity of thought and presentation and the mastery of the documents that may be found here. It is widely held that a reviewer, to justify his existence, must find something wrong with the work under review. The only critical remark here is a very mild one: use of the phrase "corn fleet" on page 22 will not mislead students of this period but it is essentially a foreign phrase since, in this meaning, it does not exist in the American vocabulary.

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MARCUS AURELIUS: HIS LIFE AND HIS WORLD. By *A. S. L. Farquharson*, Fellow of University College, Oxford. Edited by *D. A. Rees*, Lecturer in Philosophy, University College of North Wales, Bangor. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell; New York, William Salloch, 1951, pp. vi, 154, \$2.00.) The title of this book is a misnomer. Of the eight chapters the first ("The Age of the Antonines") is a brief general essay, the fourth ("The Rule of T. Antoninus Pius, and Marriage of his Daughter Annia Faustina, A.D. 145-61") deals with Antoninus Pius, the sixth and seventh treat "Literature of the Age," and the last comprises a sympathetic study of "The Religion of

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Stoicism," illustrated, to be sure, from the writings of Marcus Aurelius. The appendix, "The Christian Churches under Marcus," has little organic connection with the main narrative. Four pages of "Additional Notes" by Rees (chiefly documentation) and a simple index complete the volume. Thus it would scarcely be right to consider Marcus Aurelius the central figure. Yet this is not a criticism, for the book as presented is not the book that Farquharson would have published. He died in 1942, whereas the two-volume edition of the *Meditations*, upon which his reputation will rest, was not conveyed through the press until 1944. Shortly afterwards the manuscript of the present book was discovered by his widow, whose will provided for its publication. I can do no better than quote from the preface (by Rees): "though the critical scruples of the author would not have offered it to the world in the exact form in which it was left, here was something which showed plainly the distinction of his mind and of his scholarship, and whose total loss would be a matter for real regret." The chapters on the military and administrative aspects of the principate of Marcus have been withheld. The essays are appreciative, written by a man upon whom the Antonines made a lasting impression and who reveals in his own character something of the Stoic at his best. Farquharson rates Pius on a level with Aurelius; nor is his admiration for Lucian moderate. There is nothing controversial and the result is a pleasant little volume by an attractive writer about attractive people. Rees is a competent editor. There is a chronological ambiguity at the foot of page 2, a loose reference to the Flavians on page 13, and some other self-evident inconsistencies. Rees is correct: the loss of this book would have been regrettable.

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

THE EPISCOPAL COLLEAGUES OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET. Being the Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1949. By David Knowles, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Cambridge. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1951, pp. viii, 190, \$2.75.) Convinced that concentration upon the figure of the archbishop alone has distorted our view of the famous controversy between Henry II and Thomas Becket, Professor Knowles has made a careful study of the part played by the bishops who were occupying English

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

sees between 1163 and 1170. He gives an able characterization of the distinguished colleagues of Becket, especially the enigmatic Gilbert Foliot, and finds that their opinions and actions were decisive at the Councils of Clarendon and Northampton in 1164 and also in the autumn of 1169. Professor Knowles is not concerned with interpretations of the clauses in the Constitutions of Clarendon touching the criminous clerk or with the effect of the murder of Becket upon advowsons or appeals to Rome. He does not attempt to discuss the political and social issues involved in the conflict. His object is to analyze the policies and principles of the participants. Here he does well to emphasize the dilemma of a high churchman like Foliot in trying to reconcile feudal obligations with loyalty to his metropolitan and to the pope. More critical editions of the *Materials*, some of which are now in progress, study of episcopal *acta* and other records, and better knowledge of the history of canon law and of Anglo-Norman canonists like Gerard Pucelle may alter details. They are not likely to disprove Professor Knowles's conclusion that the failure of Henry II to establish a "regional church" under royal control was due in large part to the principles of canon law in which the English bishop had been trained in the schools. The little book is written with distinction and is closely packed with critical problems of scholarship. The footnotes and the rather miscellaneous appendixes are of more value to the student than to the general reader.

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PARACELSUS: MAGIC INTO SCIENCE. By *Henry M. Pachter*. [Life of Science Library.] (New York, Henry Schuman, 1951, pp. xiv, 360, \$4.00.) To write a biography of Paracelsus, one of the most interesting and controversial figures of the Renaissance, is assuredly a difficult problem. Many authors have tried their hand at it. In the last twenty years eight or ten biographies have appeared, and not one of them has been entirely satisfactory, entirely impartial. That by Strunz (1937) is a very good presentation from the Catholic point of view. Sudhoff's (1936), which is now practically a classic, reveals the fascination which Paracelsus had always exercised on the great German historian, who studied him deeply and held the most enthusiastic opinions about him. Nationalistic tendencies in Germany made a hero of our talented physician and put him on a lofty pedestal: he was called repeatedly the Luther of medicine. It is indeed difficult to judge fairly so complex a man, a man full of contradictions in his life and in his writings, a physician with marked rationalistic tendencies and at the same time an alchemist, an astrologer, a proponent of magical doctrines. Dr. Pachter, a German physician now living in America, has studied his protagonist with great interest, with careful consideration of the sources, and also with a deep desire to penetrate the secrets of his strange and fascinating personality. But the biography seems to me rather a picturesque and sparkling exposition of facts already generally known than a critical examination of the work of Paracelsus, and an exposition which occasionally exaggerates in its treatment of background and persons. Some historical facts are inexact, e.g., the statement (p. 40) that in the sixteenth century autopsies were forbidden by the church but were not altogether unknown; in reality also at Ferrara, where Paracelsus studied, dissections were done fairly often. Pico della Mirandola is called (p. 33) a Florentine cabalist, and of Vesalius it is said (p. 35) that he visited the master anatomists at Padua (who at that time were not there). It is stated that the circulation of the blood could only be discovered after the invention of pumps (p. 39), that Galileo and Harvey were alumni of the empirical school at Padua (p. 42), and there are other inexactitudes. The book is divided into a series of chapters which treat of the various epochs of the life of Paracelsus and describe his adventures; they describe his work as physician, perhaps with exaggerated praise, as magician and alchemist, his triumphal successes,

their decline, and his death. As a whole this is a well-written book, pleasing in format, furnished with splendid illustrations, provided with accurate notes—an enjoyable book—but as far as the historical problem is concerned, I cannot say that it has been solved or that this book brings us close to a possible solution. Paracelsus appears in its pages as we already know him—teacher, drinker, a man ready to fight with anybody and everybody, friend of workmen and of the poor, a physician zealous in practising his profession yet possessed of an exaggerated opinion of his own powers—but nowhere do we find a solution of the problem.

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Leland H. Carlson¹

RO: BA: THE LYFE OF SYR THOMAS MORE, SOMETYMES LORD CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND. Edited from MS. Lambeth 179, with Collations from Seven Manuscripts by *Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock* and the Right Reverend Mgr. *P. E. Hallett*. Additional Notes and Appendices by *A. W. Reed*. [Early English Text Society. Original Series, No. 222.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1950, pp. xxv, 340, 1-8, \$6.50.) The fortunes of this edition of what R. W. Chambers terms "in some ways . . . the best *Life of More*" have been varied. Dr. Hitchcock, the collator of the manuscripts and preparer of the published text, died in 1942. Her successor, Mgr. Hallett, after contributing introduction, notes, glossary, and index, died in 1948. Dr. Reed added supplementary notes as well as a brief account of Sir Robert Basset of UMBERLEIGH, a candidate for the authorship of this life. The edition is in the Chambers tradition of Morean scholarship—textual and historical accuracy coupled with hero worship and apologetics. Ro. Ba., who describes himself in 1599 as "a young beginner," claims little originality and confesses his dependence upon Harpsfield and Stapleton. He adds six well-told anecdotes and a few edifying details. At times he is a bit free or inaccurate in quoting More and his biographers. His style displays Elizabethan fullness, but a mastery of narrative and a command of diction, especially of the piquant phrase, make for fairly easy reading. The personal judgments of the "young beginner" are not many but can prove interesting. He treats, for example, the father of his queen cautiously, speaking only of his "inconstant & mutable disposition" and his "light nature." As for Ralph Robynson's Englished *Utopia*, the quatercentennial of which occurred last year, Ro. Ba. views it as translated "absurdlie and lamelie." Ro. Ba.'s purpose is frankly hagiographic: "to write the historie of a Con-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

fessor, Doctour and Martyr." Consequently the reader feels discomposed at times by the curious combination of the very human More sketched by Roper and the saintly More pedestaled by Stapleton—with a result slightly approximating the modern hagiographic ideal which views a saint as a genuinely human personality living a human life, apparently ordinary but really heroic, in a definite historical period. The publication of Ro. Ba.'s biography, therefore, now provides material for an enlightening study in the growth of a life. Roper's personal memoirs of More, plain and objective, written under Queen Mary, furnish notes for his choice of More's "official" biographer, Nicholas Harpsfield. The latter in 1557 employs new anecdotes and sources to portray More as a humanistic genius and uncanonized saint. Stapleton, adding the anecdotes and documents of the Catholic exiles and writing a devotional life in Latin (1588), ranks Sir Thomas with St. Thomas the Apostle and St. Thomas of Canterbury. After Ro. Ba.'s life (1599), Cresacre More, the great-grandson, closes the subject under Charles I with a biography marked by an increase in miraculous and apocryphal elements. Strangely enough, however, the historical and human features of More are never completely blurred in these later lives, most probably on account of Roper's steady realistic approach and the numerous autobiographical details in More's voluminous writings.

EDWARD SURTZ, S.J., *Loyola University, Chicago*

THE PUBLIC SPEAKING OF QUEEN ELIZABETH: SELECTIONS FROM HER OFFICIAL ADDRESSES. By *George P. Rice, Jr.*, Professor of Speech in Butler University. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. x, 142, \$2.50.) As the subtitle of this small book implies, Professor Rice has set himself a modest task: the compilation of a source book for students. Though he is presumably right in describing it as "the most complete and varied collection of speeches by Elizabeth available within the covers of a single volume"—there is, I think, no other—and though in his preface he refers to "examples of her public utterance" existing in manuscript, we are not dealing with a selection made out of expert knowledge of the subject or based in any way upon original research. As his three introductory chapters show, Dr. Rice has been handicapped by not being a historian and by trusting unreliable guides. He has some strange statements about Parliament: that it met in the evenings as well as mornings (sometimes sitting "until midnight"); that "perhaps a thousand persons" were present at the opening and closing ceremonies; and so on. The many incidental remarks by the queen, quoted in the second chapter, which might suggest wide reading, seem to be taken from Frederick Chamberlin's *Sayings of Queen Elizabeth*, a hotchpotch of fact and fiction. On page 44 Dr. Rice says that "no drafts of speeches in Elizabeth's own hand are known to the writer." This no doubt is a statement of fact; but if he had followed the lead of Conyers Read's *Bibliography* (a guide he recommends) he would not have made it. But we must turn to the speeches themselves. Dr. Rice prints twenty-one; and they will certainly serve their purpose of introducing readers to a national leader possessing the same magic as Winston Churchill. Accepting the fact that Dr. Rice was limited to those already in print and that the *English Historical Review* has been overlooked, the selection of the text is not always happy. For example, the first speech from the Parliament of 1586—there are strange errors in the introductory note—is from Camden: that is, a translation from the Latin, which itself was a translation from the original English. The real text is in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, a source used elsewhere by Dr. Rice. The second speech is from Cobbett's *State Trials*, though a superior text is in Holinshed. An error causes the relegation of the queen's speech on marriage in 1558 (*recte* 1559) to his second category of speeches, and an essay in criticism leads to the

addition of Camden's shorter version of the speech as an "obviously superior version," when in fact it is inferior and might have been better omitted. The speech "On Marriage & Succession, 1563" is a shorter version from D'Ewes of the full speech given by the same author under 1566, an error to which attention was called long ago. Then the last and very fine paper—not a speech—on "The State of the Nation, 1569" is from a draft prepared and amended by Cecil, though a later text, corrected by the queen herself, exists and is in print. One may question the justification for including this item in a collection of Queen Elizabeth's speeches; but no justification exists for including the opening speech at the Parliament of 1562 (*recte* 1563), composed and spoken by Sir Nicholas Bacon. The idea behind the book was a good one, and it is a pity one has to be critical of the execution.

J. E. NEALE, *University College, London*

THE YALE EDITION OF HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE. Edited by W. S. Lewis, et al. Volumes XV and XVI. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951, pp. liv, 395; xxvi, 439, \$10.00 each.) Interest in the past was the main and often the sole reason for the Walpole letters most recently published by the Yale University Press. This bond gives unity to Walpole's correspondence with eighteen different collectors, antiquarians, or historians. As a whole the letters lack the charm and human appeal of earlier volumes. Yet those who read the letters to know more of Walpole or of his times will not be altogether disappointed. Sixty-two hitherto unpublished letters of which forty-four were written by Walpole himself lend special significance to this collection. Respect for Walpole, much ridiculed and much maligned, tends to grow as one turns these pages. The letters cover sixty years of his life, including his early enthusiasms and his later disillusionments. They reveal his desire to encourage what seemed to him honest work and to discourage what was not sound or true. In Volume XVI is his controversial correspondence with Thomas Chatterton, whom he acknowledged as a genius if an impostor. In the appendix are extracts from his collection of critical articles dealing with Chatterton and his own accompanying comments. For a study of the historiography of the eighteenth century these particular volumes contain many useful and interesting bits of information. They show that Walpole and his correspondents were concerned with techniques of criticism and with standards of historical writing. Walpole approved a certain French publication, for example, because it had "that first merit of history, the unquestionable authenticity of materials" and was written with "frank impartiality" (XV, 136-37). Yet at another time he wrote: "I hate the cold impartiality recommended to historians" (XVI, 273). He had scant respect, furthermore, for those whom he considered mere "antiquaries—Lord help them" (XV, 252). The variety of sources from which these letters were taken makes a summary discussion of sources impossible and has resulted in a new feature. Preceding each letter is a history of the manuscript as far as it is known with references to sales catalogues and to earlier printings, if such there were. In this respect as in others the editors have maintained their usual high standard. Indeed, they are fast building for themselves a pedestal of near impeccability.

DORA MAE CLARK, *Wilson College*

DIZZY: THE LIFE AND PERSONALITY OF BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD. By Hesketh Pearson. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1951, pp. ix, 310, \$4.00.) Since Hesketh Pearson abandoned the theater for the writing of biography he has ranged widely in search of subjects—from Shakespeare to Shaw and from Tom Paine to John Nicholson. In his life of Disraeli he has brought a pleasant and witty style, great narrative ability, and wide knowledge of nineteenth-

century England to bear upon an intrinsically interesting and dramatic figure. The result is a volume which last autumn held a place among the nonfiction best sellers. Pearson complains that Disraeli's life of Lord George Bentinck was not primarily a biography but a history. Such a charge can never be leveled against Pearson's work. Disraeli is always at the center of the picture. A reasonable balance is maintained among the personal, the literary, and the political aspects of Disraeli's career. Pearson, however, has too little sympathy for and too little understanding of "the dreary empty game of politics" and too much regret over "the rise to political power of the middle classes, the industrialisation of the country at the expense of its agriculture, the denationalising of England by Liberalism, and the ultimate decline of the British Empire along with the specifically British character" to do full justice to the politics of the age or to the economic and social forces operating in Victorian England. He emphasizes always the importance of the individual. To him Gladstone is quite as much "the Arch-villain" as, in the stress of political battle, he seemed to Disraeli. *Dizzy* is intended for the enlightenment and enjoyment of the general reader. Depending heavily upon Monypenny and Buckle and the published letters, it adds nothing that is new to the facts of Disraeli's life. In interpretation its sharp antithesis between the active, subjective temperament (Disraeli) and the reflective, objective temperament is open to question. Yet the work has its value. Brief, well-written biographies are none too plentiful. Pearson's life of Disraeli will find its place beside that by André Maurois.

PAUL L. HANNA, *University of Florida*

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES. By *W. L. Burn*, Professor of Modern History, King's College, University of Durham. [Hutchinson's University Library, British Empire History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1951, pp. 196, trade \$2.00, text \$1.60.) This book suffers from a split personality. The dust jacket announces that its object is "to show how the West Indies were affected by the changing colonial policy and social concepts of Britain." From that viewpoint, it has value if hardly definitive value. Its bibliography is avowedly only a guide for further reading, but internal evidence reveals a good acquaintance with the fundamental English-language secondary works, and no major criticism need be made of the thoughtful and realistic interpretations. The organization, however, although confused, is that of a history. The brief first chapter comments upon the present scene. The next five somewhat overlap, and omit important aspects, sometimes domestic and sometimes international, while discussing occurrences of some three hundred and fifty years. The end of chapter six, and all of chapter seven, offer facts ranging from the third quarter of the nineteenth century to as late as July, 1951, but are oriented as a critical discussion of contemporary policy and problems. An appendix discusses the Falklands. From a rigid historical viewpoint, the book adds nothing to knowledge, and has some errors. Probably by a typographical error, Choiseul's dismissal is dated 1780 (p. 84), in a sentence that may therefore puzzle the reader. Persons acquainted with more than the British side of the story will gulp or splutter over some of the claims or implications about Belize, British Honduras, Central America, and the Mosquito Coast (see index, and p. 45). The legal status of Jamaica after the conquest could be more clearly stated (p. 36). (The test case was *Blankard v. Galdy*, *King's Bench* [1693], 2 Salk 411.) Brazil was an important rival in cotton production earlier than was the southern United States (p. 105) and readers will not understand the importance of the buccaneers (pp. 42-46) or of the modern Mr. Bustamante (pp. 171, 178) from the way they are mentioned. The University of the West Indies, and other recent educational projects, deserve notice. The index is inadequate. Intelligent lay readers can benefit from this work. But there are other and at least equally good discussions of contemporary problems,

and the book is far from satisfying the need for a complete, well-rounded, single-volume history of Great Britain's colonies in the American tropics.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY, *University of California, Los Angeles*

SOUTH AFRICAN ARCHIVAL RECORDS. Published under the supervision of the Archives Commission by the Publication Section of the Archives of the Union of South Africa, by order of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science. TRANSVAAL, No. 3. (Cape Town, Cape Times for Government Printer, 1951, pp. xxxii, 634.) This volume of archival records contains much material for the history of the formative years of the South African Republic. Minutes of the Volksraad throw light on the efforts of the immigrant farmers to establish an ordered society in the wilderness. The constitutions of January 5, 1857, and February 13, 1858, bear evidence to their serious purpose. Both are very lengthy documents, as is the earlier "Grondwet" of the Hollandsche Afrikaansche Republiek also printed in this volume. The very limited resources of the new state stand clearly revealed in its budgets. Its social problems are reflected in negotiations with British authorities at the Cape concerning slavery, the slave trade, and the sale of liquor to the natives. Church and religion received much attention in the frontier communities and the numerous references to "Krygsraad en Krygsoffisiere" testify to the dangers faced by the dour Afrikaners and to their fierce determination to establish a state of their own. In common with its predecessors, the volume under review is well produced and well indexed.

PAUL KNAPLUND, *University of Wisconsin*

WITH MILNER IN SOUTH AFRICA. By *Lionel Curtis*. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1951, pp. xiv, 354, 15s.) Despite the eminence of its author, publication of this book at the present time seems a little difficult for the uninitiated to understand. Still active as a publicist in and for the Commonwealth, Mr. Lionel Curtis was educated for empire at Hailybury and New College, Oxford. Then, when studying law in London, he joined the Inns of Court volunteers; and, in January, 1900, he and two Oxford colleagues (the three musketeers) began serving as dispatch riders in the South African War. The author's experiences on the veld, described in diary letters to his mother, make up the bulk of the book; but, after fifty years, they can scarcely have more than casual interest to any except the personal friends of the young man who wrote them. Philip Kerr, like Curtis, was one of several whose careers started in Milner's Kindergarten, which did notable work in reconstruction after the South African War ended in 1902. On this, however, and on the initiation of the movement for Union, the book throws little light. It has some comment on administrative and political matters; but, although provided with a key to initials and nicknames used, there is no index. In short, it seems generally unrewarding.

REGINALD I. LOVELL, *Willamette University*

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FRANCE

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DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871-1914). 1^{re} Série (1871-1900), tome XII (8 MAI 1895-14 OCTOBRE 1896). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1951, pp. xl, 814.) These unusually interesting dispatches during the eighteen months from the treaty of Shimonoseki to the tsar's visit to France in 1896 deal primarily with the skill and success with which four successive French foreign ministers and Prince Lobanov preserved the loyal functioning of the Franco-Russian Alliance. The existence of the alliance was officially admitted for the first time on June 10, 1895, by Hanotaux in the Chamber of Deputies while defending French support of Russia's loan to China, French partial participation in the ceremonial opening of the Kiel canal, and a new French loan to Russia. The most serious danger to peace arose from the massacre of Armenians, Abdul Hamid's duplicity and impotence, and talk of the partitioning of his empire. The documents reveal, for the first time so far as the reviewer is aware, a Russian plan, in case England forced the Dardanelles, to land troops at the Bosphorus in December, 1895, similar to the well-known plan of just a year later. France cautioned Russia against being the first to take military action, because it might lead to serious complications in Europe; French public opinion would not approve French participation in a European war unless the Franco-Russian alliance was revised to cover a settlement of the Alsace-Lorraine question. This question also stood in the way of French acceptance of Germany's proposal for co-operation against Britain in the Transvaal. Next in importance to the Franco-Russian alliance were the long negotiations with Britain. De Courcel, the French ambassador in London, gives a very vivid, shrewd, and interesting picture of Lord Salisbury—his bluntness, cynical humor, personal friendliness, wide-ranging but noncommittal suggestions, and occasional grimaces. Eventually the two men reached a new agreement on the Mekong boundary of Siam and some other questions, but France was able to make no headway in her aim to hasten the British evacuation of Egypt, to prevent the use of Egyptian reserve funds from being used for the conquest of the Sudan, or to activate the convention for the neutralization of the Suez canal. But might not the Marchand mission, the very secret preparations of which are here fully described and not disclosed even to the Russian ally, prove a useful lever in these matters?

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

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NORTHERN EUROPE

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KUNGLIG UTRIKESPOLITIK: STUDIER OCH ESSAYER FRÅN OSKAR II'S TID.

By *Folke Lindberg*. (Stockholm, Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1950, pp. 259, kr. 12,50.) In this volume Professor Lindberg has brought together several essays which previously have appeared in historical journals and other publications. The studies deal with problems in Norwegian-Swedish relations 1870-1905, the personal foreign policy of King Oscar II, and the attitude of Britain and Germany, principally the latter, toward the Scandinavian problems. From a careful examination of a wealth of source material, Swedish, Norwegian, German, and British, the author has been able to reveal the strong interest which Emperor William II took in the disputes between Norway and Sweden during the latter years of their union, how he personally backed up King Oscar II, and the emperor's ruminations about a possible division of Norway. The crises of 1895 and 1905 are discussed at some length and the role played by Britain in the liquidation of the Scandinavian union is given a good deal of attention. Professor Lindberg shows that the problems of Norway and Sweden were watched closely and received more attention from Britain and Germany than students of modern European history have hitherto realized.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

BENEDIKTINISCHES MÖNCHTUM IN ÖSTERREICH: EINE FESTSCHRIFT DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BENEDIKTINERKLÖSTER AUS ANLASS DES 1400-JÄHRIGEN TODESTAGES DES HEILIGEN BENEDIKT. Herausgegeben von Dr. P. Hildebert Tausch, O.S.B., Stift Admont, Wien. (Vienna, Herder, 1949,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

pp. xii, 352.) Anyone, whether a specialist in history or not, who wishes to understand the contribution of the Benedictines to European civilization in general and to Austrian culture in particular will find much to interest him in this excellent book. The editor, who wrote nine of the essays himself, collated the other fifteen, which were contributed by scholars from the famous Benedictine monasteries of Melk, Michaelbeuern, Göttweig, Seckau, Admont, Seitenstetten, Kremsmünster, Schottenstift (Vienna), and Nonnberg. Readers will be grateful for the excellent map and for the list of all present-day Austrian cloisters of Black Monks, with the date of the establishment of each monastery and some indication of its auxiliary activities. The volume has four sections dealing, respectively, with history, range of activities, co-workers, and the condition and purpose of Benedictinism in Austria. While each of the six essays on history are first-rate, Americans will, I think, find especially illuminating the first three. Here, painted in broad strokes, he will find treated the rise of the Black Monks, their early development in Austria, and a remarkable summary of the salient points of the long centuries of their history. Here, too, the student will discover temperate discussions of questions on which specialists differ, e.g., the significance of the Irish element in the early Middle Ages (Zibermayr, Heuwieser), the effects of the Protestant Reform and the policies of the emperor Joseph II. Here is demonstrated the wonderful staying power of the Benedictine spirit even in the earlier centuries in the face of Hungarian raids, ambitious and secular-minded feudal lords whether lay, clerical, or royal. To enable them better to carry on their primary duty, the *opus dei* or life of prayer as individuals and as communities, the Benedictines were active as pioneers. They cleared forests, established agriculture, and gave an example of disciplined living. They "built churches, decorated them with frescoes, supplied them with costly ornaments and art works." Everywhere they complemented the work of the overburdened parish priests by instructing the ignorant, correcting the wayward, comforting the suffering, and, in general, by presenting to all an example of the perfect community. The important Hirsau (Cluny), Melk, and Baroque monastic reforms are convincingly presented as revivals of interest in the Rule of St. Benedict. Indeed, the recurring revivals of monasticism, including that of the present day, appear as applications of the wonderfully wise and flexible instrument of the saint correctly called "Pater Europae." Two interesting illustrations taken from the rest of the book must suffice here as indicative of the different uses to which the famous Rule has been put. The first is presented by P. Norbert M. Schachinger (Kremsmünster), himself a former parish priest, on present-day Benedictine participation in the demanding work of the care of souls. The second is by P. Hermann Geist (Schottenstift, Vienna) on the role of the Benedictines in a large city. In these two essays the reader will understand how utterly false is the allegation that the Benedictines fled the world and lived as hermits. And in these and other sections of the book, the reader will discover how much of what was best in a mighty past has been preserved by each Benedictine cloister, and he will join the undersigned in congratulating the authors on having published a volume that is at once an example to the scholar, a pleasure to the amateur, and an inspiration to all who seek to understand the persistence of the appeal of the monastic life.

GEORGE BINGHAM FOWLER, *University of Pittsburgh*

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ITALY

FILIPPO BUONARROTI: CONTRIBUTI ALLA STORIA DELLA SUA VITA E DEL SUO PENSIERO. By Armando Saitta. Volume I. [Storia ed Economia: Studi, Testi, Documenti, Quaderni, 2.] (Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1950, pp. xi, 293.) This volume exemplifies the fine historical work produced by several Italian Socialist historians since World War II. Saitta upholds the best Continental historical tradition, not only in his smooth prose but in his thorough study of manuscript materials. He utilized little-explored archives in Italy, and also in France, Switzerland, and Belgium. The newer material is of value for an understanding of the Italian Risorgimento rather than for the role of Buonarroti in the Babouvist movement. While the volumes of Bernstein and Dommanget centered attention on the French part of Buonarroti's career, this volume devotes well over half to his role in Italy, with chapter III presenting significant new information on secret societies from the latter part of the Napoleonic rule until 1830. This volume, which will be followed by a volume of sources, is a collection of studies rather than a chronological biography. Chapter I outlines Buonarroti's early revolutionary activity in Italy in the 1790's, and chapter II his activities in Belgium in the 1820's, where numerous European revolutionaries met and launched writings. Saitta places the publication of Buonarroti's well-known *Histoire de conjuration des Egaux* in 1824 in this period rather than during the Napoleonic period formerly ascribed. Chapter III describes Buonarroti's founding of the secret society, the Settaria, and assigns an importance to his ideas and organizing ability not hitherto recognized. Saitta would have Buonarroti faithful throughout his life to his philosophy of liberty, which to an Italian meant Italian unity under Italian rule, and equality, derived from the French Revolution and Babouvism. Buonarroti was the transmitter of the influence of the French Revolution to Italian revolutionaries. According to Saitta, advocacy of agrarian egalitarianism and communism of property, derived from Babouvism, was the cause of Buonarroti's eventual split from Mazzini, although they also differed in that Buonarroti was constantly active in a movement of international revolution, whereas Mazzini acted in terms of Italian unity. Saitta paints Buonarroti not only as an idealist but also as an organizer—a man of action. One wonders what his influence might have been on events of 1848, had he lived beyond 1837. Although his ideas were carried on, his followers were less able, and social revolution was lost sight of in the movement for political

unity. The final chapter analyzes in considerable detail some of the writings of Buonarroti. Of special significance is the text of a speech by Buonarroti on 20 prairial, an II (May 1, 1794), for the Fete of the Supreme Being at Oneille, hitherto unpublished and an important witness of the influence of Robespierre on his early revolutionary thinking. Saitta's analysis of Buonarroti's "Observations sur Robespierre," refutes some of the interpretation of Mathiez and more recently of Galante Garrone. This work embodies Buonarroti's appraisal of the French Revolution, with emphasis upon "virtue" added to his ideals of liberty and equality. A paragraph on page 276 sums up his point of view. Appended to this chapter is a useful note on the sources. This volume, both because of its scholarly basis and its scope, is of interest to a wider public than the title conveys. It throws light on the influence of French Revolutionary ideas, rejected in France itself with the suppression of Babouvism, on the peoples of surrounding countries, and upon the Italian movement toward unification. In addition, the volume may be said to provide an introduction, with much new material, to the Revolutions of 1848.

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP and ROSA T. CLOUGH, *Hunter College*

RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

*Sergius Yakobson*¹

GUIDE TO RESEARCH IN RUSSIAN HISTORY. By *Charles Morley*, Ohio State University. (Syracuse, N. Y., Syracuse University Press, 1951, pp. xiii, 227, \$2.50.) To those not familiar with the Russian materials available in American libraries the amount and variety of resources covered by Dr. Morley's excellent volume, intended as a handbook for Russian history seminars, will be a surprise. He has systematically analyzed his subject matter, first discussing the nature of the major collections in the United States and then presenting the various categories of works useful for the student of Russian history. Each chapter, such as "Basic Historical Aids," "Encyclopedias, Atlases, and Dictionaries," and "Biographical Data," begins with advice to the student on the use of the material presented. Chapter v, on "Russian Bibliography," is exceptionally rich, containing 298 titles, minutely subdivided according to topic. Other chapters cover Russian historical sources, periodicals and newspapers, and Russian historiography. For the most part the author has indicated in which libraries the individual items are located. There are useful appendixes containing the chief Dewey Decimal and the Library of Congress classification symbols for Russian materials; transliteration tables; information on the Russian calendar; and reference works on Soviet abbreviations. As most of the titles listed are in Russian, this *Guide* will be of service primarily to students of Russian history and librarians who deal with Russian books, although it may be useful to historians not directly interested in the Russian field. Inasmuch as it is extremely well organized and contains much information not easily obtainable elsewhere, it should be immensely helpful to all persons interested in Russian research.

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS, *Duke University*

LES FLEUVES ET L'EVOLUTION DES PEUPLES: EUROPE ORIENTALE, BALTIQUE-MER NOIRE. By *Pierre George, et al.* [Centre International de Synthèse, Institut international d'archéocivilisation.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1950, pp. 104, 300 fr.) This small volume is composed of seven papers originally presented in 1948 at the second symposium in the series on "Rivers and the Evo-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

lution of Peoples" (the first was on the Rhine-Danube) sponsored by the Centre International de Synthèse with the view of examining "the influence of the great trans-continental waterways on the formation and evolution of the nations of Europe." This volume does not cover the whole region extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea as one would gather from its title but is actually limited to the basins of the Oder and the Vistula, or rather, to be more exact, to the former. The symposium is actually narrowed to the examination of the geopolitical importance of the Oder; the economic significance of that waterway as well as that of the Vistula is completely neglected. After two papers on the geographic conditions of the basins of these two rivers written by Pierre George (Paris) and August Zierhoffer (Poznań) there follow three papers which have little if anything to do with the subject matter of the symposium although otherwise they are very interesting. Particularly illuminating is the paper by an outstanding Slavic philologist Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński (Cracow) on the origins of the primitive Slavs and the location of their homeland. Lehr-Spławiński arrives at the conclusion that the basins of the Oder and Vistula had formed the nucleus of that homeland. Michał Szczaniecki (Poznań), in the first part of his paper, gives a survey of Polish protohistory and, in the second, discusses the influence of the Frankish monarchy on the ancient Polish institutions, while Maria Wojciechowska (Poznań) draws attention to "some particular traits of the development of Polish civilization." The two concluding papers by Zygmunt Wojciechowski (Poznań) are the only ones that bear directly on the topic of the volume. The author reviews the role of the Oder in the history of eastern Central Europe. The basins of the Oder and Vistula form a well-knit geographic region: the "*terres maternelles*" of Poland. The establishment of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Eastern Pomerania and the loss of the Oder in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries constituted a catastrophe for Poland from the geopolitical standpoint. Poland was encircled. She faced the greatest danger in the period 1373-1415, when the Luxemburgs were the masters both of Silesia and Brandenburg and thus controlled nearly the whole course of the Oder. The fate of Poland was sealed in 1740 when Frederick the Great wrested Silesia from the Habsburgs, acquiring the entire course of the Oder, which became the axis of his state. The reviewer finds it impossible to subscribe to this view of history. After all Poland reached the summit of her power in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with her western boundary exactly the same as at the time of the first partition in 1772. It is not to her unfavorable frontiers but rather to her internal weakness and anarchy that one should look for the causes of her downfall. When all is said, unfavorable boundaries are also the result of weakness or the lack of sustained effort to improve them. The author does not suggest that the possession of Silesia and other "*terres maternelles*" would influence in any way the course of Poland's internal development. It is difficult to see how a weak Poland, even if the whole basin of the Oder belonged to her, could have avoided falling under the control of her powerful neighbors if these were set on such a course.

ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI, *Madison, Wisconsin*

ZIEMIE POLSKIE W STAROŻYTNOŚCI: LUDY I KULTURY NAJDAWNIEJSZE [Les origines de l'ancienne Pologne: les peuples et les civilisations de l'antiquité. French summary, pp. 738-804]. By *Kazimierz Tymieniecki*. (Poznań: Société des amis des sciences et des lettres de Poznań, 1951, pp. xxiv, 834, maps.) Professor Tymieniecki had three objectives in writing this book: to consider the migrations and evolution of all those tribes and peoples which in prehistoric times crossed the lands of historic Poland leaving their traces behind when they moved on; to outline the past history of the Slavs in general; and to define the roots of Polish history. All

these objectives required intensive study in many fields, plus independent and original thinking. Polish historiography and historical research have been handicapped for centuries despite an early start in the Middle Ages. Facts are hard to come by, source material is scanty, and much has had to be accepted hypothetically. Thus any historian, particularly one of the period concerned in this book, faces a difficult task. Most researchers in this period are more or less contemporaries of the author—for example, Br. Bilinski, J. Czekanowski, L. Kozłowski, T. Sulimirski, T. Lehr-Splawinski, K. Majewski, and particularly J. Kostrzewski, all of whom have done very valuable spade work. Tymieniecki has enlarged his findings by drawing from ancient sources such as Herodotus, Ptolemy, Caesar, Dio Cassius, Pliny, Tacitus, Strabo, Jordanis, etc. He has made good use of some of the non-Polish sources of modern times. He has consulted and analyzed relevant scholarship in the fields of geography, anthropology, ethnography, archaeology, and linguistics. This preparation has occupied him for a quarter of a century. Judging from the present volume, the first of four, his finished work will be very valuable not only for the student of the Polish and Slavic past but also for those concerned with the dawn of history and the transition from the prehistoric age to historic times. As such the book may become a standard work for the scholar anywhere. A French résumé will make the book accessible to scholars not familiar with the Polish language. Appended indexes of authors and subjects are very helpful, though the subject index suffers from poor proofreading. Unfortunately, there is no bibliographical index, which would have been a valuable guide for the student. Otherwise the book is highly to be recommended and those who use it will look forward to the publication of the other three volumes.

CHARLES SASS, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

JAN MASARYK: A PERSONAL MEMOIR. By R. H. Bruce Lockhart. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1951, pp. 80, \$5.75.) An American edition of the biographical sketch of Jan Masaryk is to be welcomed for several reasons. In the veins of the deceased Czechoslovak statesman flowed American blood and this country was, indeed, his second home. The report of his death on March 10, 1948, aroused the American public and brought close to their mind the tragic collapse of the Czechoslovak democracy. The author of the memoir was a trusted friend of Jan Masaryk. The portrait he has drawn was done by a skillful hand. There is no passage in the book which could be dismissed as legendary or apocryphal. The hero is neither presented as an embodiment of civic virtues nor extolled as omniscient or infallible. More significant than the discharge of public functions were Masaryk's personal qualities, his artistic temperament, his cheerful disposition, dislike of a rigid social code, and above all, his innate aversion to violence and tyranny. The story of Masaryk's life as presented by his Scottish friend confirms, in general, the glimpses of the statesman's personality caught by his less intimate collaborators. The burden of such offices as the ambassadorial post in London during the mounting international crisis, and even more, the portfolio of foreign affairs, was too heavy for a man of Masaryk's delicate fiber. The author of the memoir refers to a quotation from Lao-Tse which he once found in Masaryk's study. The gist of the Chinese philosopher's writing was an urgent advice to the holders of public posts to resign in proper time. But Bruce Lockhart does not comment on the fact that Masaryk, ignoring the philosopher's precept, decided to remain at the helm when factors much stronger than his gentle hand had brusquely changed the course of Czechoslovak foreign policy. Nor was he able to rend the veil in which Masaryk's death was shrouded. There is a passage in the book (p. 77) which suggests that a more distant authority than the Czechoslovak Communist headquarters may be responsible for the death warrant. Whatever the

circumstances were, with Jan Masaryk passed away an outstanding personality whose very name stood as a living symbol of the former liberties of Czechoslovakia.

OTAKAR ODLOZILIK, *Columbia University*

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer

ARAB SEAFARING IN THE INDIAN OCEAN IN ANCIENT AND EARLY MEDIEVAL TIMES. By *George Fadlō Hourani*. [Princeton Oriental Studies, Volume XIII.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. xi, viii, 131, \$3.00.) The entrance into South and East Asiatic waters of the western European fleets, notably Portugal's, toward the end of the fifteenth century virtually terminated the development of Arab navigation. Dr. Hourani has sketched in this book the history of Arab traffic in the Indian Ocean from prehistoric times until its peak around the

tenth century A.D. He lists references from almost every available source—Babylonian, Egyptian, Arabic, Greek, Latin, Persian, Chinese, not to mention the works of modern students. The result is a useful piece of scholarship, but owing to the great amount of detail compressed within the regrettably small compass of the volume it will prove less interesting to the nonspecialists and general readers than one might expect from the inherent fascination of the subject. This is a pity, for Dr. Hourani possesses not only research talent but also an excellent literary style, as he demonstrates in the more leisurely last section of the book which, despite the technicality of the content—hulls, sails, navigation, etc.—is extremely readable. S. G.

THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY AND IRAN. By Lewis V. Thomas and Richard N. Frye. [American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. xii, 291, \$4.25.) Government officials and all other Americans interested in Turkey and Iran, but whose information in the main is drawn from the press, will find this current synthesis worth reading. It is the product of two scholars who are specialists in medieval history. Recent travel and study in the two countries aroused and developed their interest in the contemporary period. *The United States and Turkey and Iran* is actually two essays that are very easy to read because they are written in a colloquial, almost personal style and are not burdened with too many dates and statistics. Their authors are primarily concerned with explaining why Turkey and Iran must be strongly supported by the United States. They attempt to justify their position both because of and in spite of the weaknesses vis-à-vis the USSR, although the reasons differ in the case of each country. Mr. Thomas is a frank but clear-headed partisan of Turkey. He mentions Turkey's historic and present faults along with her virtues, although not in equal proportion, and in almost every instance seeks to justify the former, if not on the basis of a higher morality, then on that of practical national interests. As a result, an apologetic tone permeates the writing which, along with many sweeping, dogmatic value-judgments designed to make Turkey completely palatable to American tastes, weakens rather than strengthens his case. Instead of inspiring us with confidence, the book leaves us somewhat uneasy. Also, to say that Turkey's policy is to survive and prosper and that everything is laudable that contributes to these goals is not to make a distinctive statement. For example, justification of the repressive treatment accorded certain minorities on the grounds that it led to a homogeneous population without which there would not exist today a Turkish Republic requires more proof than is here offered. Heterogeneity of population is often a factor of strength, as is demonstrated by the history of various Western countries, particularly the United States, where religious and ethnic minorities have contributed markedly to the national defense and enriched the culture. The picture of modern Iran, as sketched by Mr. Frye, is not as clear as that of Turkey because its recent history and psychology are more complicated and much less known. After reading *The United States and Turkey and Iran* one is likely to agree with the present American policy of all-out support of Turkey coupled with an attitude toward Iran of reserve and perhaps fearful waiting, dangerous and unsatisfactory though it may be. Until the leadership, or a segment of it, manifests an unmistakable willingness to help itself, if only by making minor sacrifices, there is little that can be usefully done. Special, unconditional grants, as the Iranian premier was recently quoted as inviting, are not likely to improve the situation. S. G.

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard¹

CHINESE-RUSSIAN RELATIONS. By *Michel N. Pavlovsky*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1949, pp. viii, 194, \$3.75.) In this useful little book several characteristics are combined. The author represents the old, pre-Soviet school of Russian historians, and he follows their tradition in placing documents above theory (p. 27). For the translation of Chinese texts, he had the collaboration of a Chinese scholar. Finally, he had the advantage of working at Aurora University, a Jesuit institution in Shanghai, where he had access to the records of the period when Jesuit missionaries accompanied Manchu envoys negotiating with the Russians, and though nominally mere interpreters "performed functions related to true diplomacy rather than pure linguistics." One of the most entertaining passages in the book is the description of the cordial relations between the Jesuits, interpreting for the Manchu emperor, and Spathari, a Greek born in Moldavia and educated in Constantinople, representing the Russian tsar. Such personal relationships go far toward explaining the fact that in the early Manchu-Russian treaties the Latin texts are clearer than the Manchu, Russian, Chinese, and Mongol texts. Pavlovsky throws considerable light on the wars in Mongolia that led to Manchu suzerainty and stabilization of the frontier with Siberia; on the two centuries of almost static relations between China and Russia from 1727 to 1911; and on the renewal of activity after the Chinese and Mongol revolutions of 1911. Although the new developments led to a Russian protectorate over Outer Mongolia this change was not due, in Pavlovsky's opinion, to Russian expansionism but rather to Chinese colonization in Mongolia. At this point a discussion of the part played by railways would have been useful—forced on the Chinese by foreign demands, they nevertheless enormously extended both the strategic and the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

economic reach of China into Mongolia. In a book of less than 200 pages Pavlovsky cites far more from documents—Mongol as well as Chinese and Russian—than can be found in most discussions of Mongol-Chinese-Russian relations, and this is his most important contribution to the linking up of the study of history as seen from the West, from the Far East, and from Russia. It is unfortunate that there are a number of misprints and minor inaccuracies, and that the transliterations are poor. The general reader cannot be expected to understand that the term for “Chinese” which appears on page 83 in the two forms *hamin* and *ghamen* is the result of bad Russian transcriptions of the Mongol pronunciation of the Chinese Ko Ming—i.e., the Komingtang or Revolutionary party, one of the early avatars of the Kuomintang or Nationalist party. This scramble is copied from Ken Shen Weigh’s inadequate *Russo-Chinese Diplomacy* (Shanghai, 1928).

OWEN LATTIMORE, *Johns Hopkins University*

INDIA IN THE NEW ERA: A STUDY OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIAN AND PAKISTAN, NEW NATIONS IN A CHANGING ASIA. By T. Walter Wallbank, University of Southern California. (New York, Scott, Foresman, 1951, pp. 204, \$2.40.) This book, which shared the Watumull Prize in 1951 with Louis Fischer’s *Life of Gandhi*, will long hold the field as one of the best guides for all who wish to be well briefed with the background information needed for an understanding of what is now happening on the Indian subcontinent. Though it appears to be written primarily with the needs of college students in mind, it is more than a textbook and will deservedly attract a far wider public. The work reflects very extensive reading among secondary materials and government documents dealing with modern Indian history. The author compresses and analyzes this material with unusual skill in forceful and clear narrative style so welcome to students approaching a subject for the first time. Since his own chief interests are political and constitutional, his treatment of the evolution of nationalism and the transition from dependence to independence is better than his discussion of Indian economic history. It seems to this reviewer, whose interests are likewise primarily modern, that Mr. Wallbank’s forty-page summary of the many centuries before Vasco da Gama set sail for the East would have benefited much from revision after further conference with scholars deeply versed in Sanskrit, Persian, and all other relevant aspects of Indic and Islamic studies. Though Mr. Wallbank, with his Western background, has striven mightily to be impartial, Indian readers may feel that he has not always succeeded in preserving objectivity. His constant reference to “Native States,” his characterization of Hinduism as “voluptuous polytheism” with a “variegated array of deities” (p. 25), and his implication (p. 155) that the two million recruits for the Indian Army in World War II were genuine volunteers uninfluenced by economic necessity are unfortunate in that they may detract from the solid merits of a book which should be widely read in India and Pakistan as well as in America and Europe. Very few errors of chronology or fact have been noted. One of the most striking is the reference to the Marathas and the Nizam as neutral in the Mysore War of, 1790-92 which was certainly not the case (p. 46). The new and unusual format deserves attention. This reviewer liked the practice of putting the footnotes in the wide margins instead of at the bottom of the page. He was not so happy about some of the black and white maps and sketches in these margins, or about some of the metaphors in the italics at the head of each chapter. He really wonders whether student interest is, or should be, stimulated by such phrases as, “If the First World War gave India the beginning course on the banquet-table of self-determination, the second global conflict added all other items on the political menu including the dessert of absolute national autonomy”

(p. 144). Nevertheless, the publishers deserve praise for the format and the photographs. Perhaps the answer to the rising costs of books which teachers would like to see more widely owned by students lies in further experiment with paper-bound quartos or octavos of a similar sort. HOLDEN FURBER, *University of Pennsylvania*

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

HEAVENS ON EARTH: UTOPIAN COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA, 1680-1880. By Mark Holloway. (New York, Library Publishers, 1951, pp. 240, \$4.75.) This is a short

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

and conveniently arranged summary of utopian experiments in the United States, based primarily on the earlier studies by John Humphrey Noyes, Charles Nordhoff, and William Alfred Hinds. The author first provides a brief setting in the psychological, religious, and literary backgrounds. He then recounts the story of the Labadists, Ephrata, the Shakers, the Rappites, New Harmony, Fourierism, Oneida, Icaria, Amana, and other familiar communitarian ventures. Although useful, the book can hardly be said to fill any very urgent need. In particular, Professor Alice Felt Tyler's *Freedom's Ferment*, published in 1944, makes all this information readily available and in a considerably richer context. Mr. Holloway is presumably English, and this may partially account for his apparent lack of knowledge of Mrs. Tyler's work.

W. G.

LETTERS FROM AMERICA, 1773 TO 1780: BEING THE LETTERS OF A SCOTS OFFICER, SIR JAMES MURRAY, TO HIS HOME DURING THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. Edited by *Eric Robson*, Lecturer in History in the University of Manchester. (Manchester, England, Manchester University Press, 1951, pp. xxvi, 90, 12s. 6d.) James Murray was a keen, witty, and somewhat saturnine observer of men and events; his letters are indispensable to those interested in the War of American Independence. His first letter from America dealing with the British attack on Charleston in 1776 is one of the most illuminating accounts of that—for the British—ill-fated expedition. Critical of British generals and admirals, he gave the Americans their due: "The artillery of the Yankies," he wrote, "was admirably well served, their works admirably constructed, and we had not a single deserter for three weeks." He was a good campaigner: after living on a diet of salt pork for nearly four months, he writes: "The only thing which I found a little disagreeable was lying five nights in the midst of a putrid marsh up to the ankles in filth and water." Serving with Sir William Howe at Long Island, he gave his Scottish correspondents an excellent account of that battle; but soon thereafter he lost interest in the war. It became a bore and a waste of effort—"a barbarous business and in a barbarous country." "The novelty is worn off," he said, "and I see no advantages to be reaped from it." Although he deplored the mismanagement which seemed to be costing Great Britain a large part of its empire, he no longer criticized his superior officers: "The only blessing which indulgent heaven has granted as a recompense for all the hardships of a military life," he remarked, "is a total exemption from the necessity of thinking, and he must be a fool indeed that wilfully devests himself of such a privilege." The Americans, whom he had praised at Charleston, now became in his eyes "the poorest mean spirited scoundrels that ever surely pretended to the dignity of Rebellion." He complained of their "dirty fighting"; and while he admitted that chasing rebels was "at least equal to a fox chase," he found that there was too little of this particular sport as the war progressed. "Thoroughly disgusted" at the way things were going, he left the continent for the West Indies in 1778, one of the few British officers who rejoiced at being sent to those fever-ridden islands. Mr. Robson's meticulous editing leaves nothing to be desired; he has taken vast pains to run down obscure references, even delving into manuscript material for that purpose. Altogether, this book will well reward an hour or two devoted to it.

JOHN C. MILLER, *Stanford University*

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES. Edited by *Herbert Aptheker*. Preface by W. E. B. DuBois. (New York, Citadel Press, 1951, pp. xvi, 942, \$7.50.) The object of this work is "to present the essence of the first three hundred years of the history of the American Negro peo-

ple . . . through the words of Negro men, women and children themselves." The editor asserts that "a Jim Crow society breeds and needs a Jim Crow historiography," and, contrary to the traditional view, declares that the severely oppressed "Negro people . . . have been militant, active, creative, productive." "Their history demonstrates . . . [the persistence of their] will to freedom, their urge toward equality, justice and dignity . . ." (p. xiii). In support of this thesis, the editor presents more than 450 documents, for the period from 1661 to 1910, under the captions: "Through the Revolutionary Era," "The Early National Period," "The Abolitionist Era," "The Civil War," "The Reconstruction Years," "Early Post-Reconstruction Era," "The Appearance of Imperialism," and "The Twentieth Century." The documents of each period illustrate the subjects of greatest interest to the Negro, with reference to his problems, his hopes, and his efforts, as he lived his life under conditions of slavery, serfdom, or quasi-freedom. Some of the documents of the abolitionist era deal, for example, with such questions as the role of the Negro newspaper, the militant pamphlet, the Negro in the abolition movement, the founding of a Negro library, facts concerning free Negroes, resisting Jim Crow, denunciations of colonization, a public discussion of insurrection, the annual national Negro Convention, and appeals for equal suffrage. Several documents of the Civil War period reveal the struggles for the right to fight and for the ballot, the school, and the land. Those of the twentieth century relate to "The Developing Negro Liberation Movement, 1901-1910." Possessing positive value, these documents, some hitherto unpublished and representing views of Negroes of various degrees of formal education and shades of opinion, should serve as a corrective of much misinformation which has passed as historical fact. The documents in this volume, drawn from such sources as books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, official documents, letters, and other manuscripts, have been selected admirably. The introduction, in which the editor defines the scope of the book, and his explanatory comments and notes made in connection with the documents greatly enhance the value of the work. Subject to the well-known limitations of a source-book, the volume seems, in view of its purpose and fulfillment, to admit of little, if any, special criticism. The student and many of the general public should find it exceptionally useful. It is a highly valuable contribution to the literature of its field.

A. A. TAYLOR, *Fisk University*

MR. JUSTICE SUTHERLAND: A MAN AGAINST THE STATE. By *Joel Francis Paschal*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. xii, 267, \$4.00.) "While he was on the Court [1922 to 1938] no other justice spoke for the majority in so many great cases. . . . If the Constitution is what the judges say it is, Sutherland was its chief author during his incumbency . . . he stands as one of the major landmarks in American constitutional law, the landmark from which the new departure was taken in 1937." These claims asserted by Dr. Paschal in his introduction are effectively established in his learned but highly readable and interesting account of a justice whom most present-day Americans remember only as one of the four ultraconservatives among the "Nine Old Men" of the 1930's. Dr. Paschal deals with his subject sympathetically, yet with objective recognition of the social and economic implications of the problems challenging Sutherland's attention as member of Utah's first state legislature (1896 to 1900), lone congressman from Utah (1901 to 1905), United States senator (1905 to 1917) and justice of the Supreme Court. Sutherland emerges as a strong personality and an able leader, with a gift of expression which, though not particularly individual, was persuasive. An ardent Spencerian, he nevertheless, especially during the years in the Senate, lapsed occasionally in the application of his fervid faith in laissez faire. The greater part of the study is naturally devoted to Sutherland's Court years. Their importance is clearly demonstrated, with due atten-

tion to Sutherland's service, on the positive side, in emphasizing the foreign relations power, as well as to his role as an exponent of the limitations of government. Dr. Paschal contends that Sutherland had a philosophy of government and that in decision after decision he was instrumental in the acceptance of this philosophy by the Court. Of this there can be no doubt. The philosophy, however, was clearly a borrowed philosophy, to which Sutherland himself contributed little. In fact, though a crusader for individuality, he himself had little of it; he was a theorist who knew only one theory. This suggests the only marked limitation in Dr. Paschal's account: while he does an excellent job of showing how Sutherland applied his philosophy, he does not elucidate how the philosophy was acquired. His explanation of this omission—that he has written not so much a biography as an essay in government—can hardly suffice as an excuse for not telling more of the human relations of a man whose career so profoundly affected human relations. It is not enough to ascribe Sutherland's philosophy to the influence of two or three early teachers. (Incidentally, to call Thomas M. Cooley, who is given first place among them, "a Spencerian disciple of the highest standing," seems a bit of an exaggeration of Cooley's precociousness, great as that was: Cooley's most influential book appeared only three years after the first American printing of Spencer's *Social Statics*.) If information on Sutherland's personal side is as lacking as the story presented would seem to imply, this in itself is revealing evidence. Aside from the single limitation noted, Dr. Paschal's work is excellent. May other outstanding judicial figures be as fortunate in the intelligence and skill of their biographers!

L. G. VANDER VELDE, *University of Michigan*

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S OWN STORY: TOLD IN HIS OWN WORDS FROM HIS PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PAPERS. Selected by *Donald Day*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1951, pp. 461, \$4.00.) This compilation of "what FDR wrote and said" is not likely to be a useful or rewarding source for any serious student of the life and times of Franklin D. Roosevelt. With occasional connecting links provided by the compiler, the book is composed of brief, diary-like selections all written by F. D. R. and drawn predominantly from three main sources: the letter and speech files of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, the thirteen volumes of *Public Papers and Addresses* edited by Samuel I. Rosenman, and the 1905-1928 volume of *FDR—His Personal Letters* edited by Elliott Roosevelt. The strictly chronological arrangement defeats the purpose of letting F. D. R. "give his own growth and development, to unfold his own social, economic and political credo." For the result is a pattern of unrelated selections on a variety of matters for which, given the brevity of the items, no index can adequately compensate. Too, due to a bare minimum of editorial comment, it is not clear in what context a number of statements were made and for what kind of audience they were intended. The autobiographical treatment is also limited by the fact that F. D. R. very rarely committed to paper anything of consequence about himself as a person (a fact which is not sufficiently recognized or admitted by students of F.D.R.), so that it is not always apparent why some of the items have been included. To this reviewer the previously unpublished correspondence from the letter file at Hyde Park constitutes the most revealing selections in the book. Of particular interest is the chapter covering the years 1924 to 1928 and a number of items which reveal F.D.R.'s concern for the future of the Democratic party during this low period of its history. Even at this time he emerges as a strong, highly influential party leader, and ever-present is a profound optimism that not too much time will elapse before the Democrats return to power. Curiously, however, he seems to have counted largely on Republican blunders to occur before "the inevitable pendulum takes the inevitable swing back to an inevitable Democracy."

JAMES N. ROSENAU, *New Jersey College for Women*

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND MILITARY POWER: A STUDY OF CIVIL CONTROL OF THE MILITARY POWER IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Louis Smith*. [Studies in Public Administration.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951, pp. xv, 370, \$5.00.) Like many Americans today the author of this book believes that the security of our country and the continuing existence of its ideals depends primarily upon military power. Like many Americans he realizes that such power may make our country secure but in the process destroy the traditional tenets of American democracy. Inasmuch as the book is one of the University of Chicago's "Studies in Public Administration," major emphasis is placed on the constitutional and administrative aspects of the question. In the author's words, the central task of the study "is the presentation of the constitutional system of civil control, with some appraisal of its adequacy in terms of the security problem of the twentieth century." Dean Smith divides his book into nineteen chapters, first putting the problem of civil control of military power into its historical and theoretical setting, then tracing the origin and growth of the American tradition of civil dominance. The bulk of the book is devoted to an analysis and appraisal of the constitutional and administrative devices through which the President, the secretaries of the military departments, the two houses of Congress, congressional committees, and the judicial branch operate and have operated to insure that civil dominance shall be maintained. The eighteenth chapter shows that the states no longer have any part in the restraint of military power. The final chapter sums up the problem of democratic control of military power at mid-century as the author sees it. He finds that our constitutional and administrative devices have functioned adequately in the past to safeguard civil dominance but have been aided by the fact that, until the present, the United States has never found it necessary to maintain a large permanent military establishment. The ultimate insurance for civil dominance rests with public opinion, he believes, and thinks that another protracted war may cause the citizens to demand the institution of an authoritarian rule based on military power in order to escape the seeming bickerings and compromises of democratic processes. There is much information in this book but the presentation is marred by the excessive number of block quotes in small type. There are 242 of these block quotations in 327 pages of text (the other 43 pages contain notes and an index) and many of them cover at least half a page. Another fault lies in the title. There is much more to American democracy than constitutional and administrative devices, and one has a right, in view of the title, to expect a book different from the one which Dean Smith has written. He has brought together quotations from some basic materials relating to only one facet of the problem of reconciling American democracy with large military organizations. Nevertheless, much research and writing needs to be done before a book can be written which justifies the definitive title *American Democracy and Military Power*.

RICHARD C. BROWN, *U. S. Armed Forces Institute, Madison, Wisconsin*

THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL: A CHRONICLE OF ECONOMIC MOBILIZATION IN WORLD WAR II. By *Eliot Janeway*. [Chronicles of America Series, Volume 53.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951, pp. v, 382, \$5.00.) America's economic mobilization between 1939 and 1945 constituted a veritable miracle, as Eliot Janeway believes, which raised the standard of living of the nation, gave labor—both urban and rural—a new sense of dignity and importance, and tremendously improved the position of the Negro, while simultaneously permitting the United States to vanquish the Axis and assume a position of leadership in the postwar struggle against Soviet totalitarianism. And the principal credit for this miracle, the author argues, belongs to President Roosevelt. As best Janeway can describe it, the key to

Roosevelt's method in accomplishing this miracle was his decision not to rely upon any comprehensive plan of governmental leadership in the economic mobilization but rather to gamble upon the "momentum" of the economy itself to respond to the need for more production, as the course of the war made this need apparent. Hence Roosevelt confined his efforts to dramatizing the problem and preventing his subordinates, charged with the administration of economic matters, from causing irreparable political damage to the cause of national unity. This thesis, which the author presents at the outset of his study, makes the remainder of his book anticlimactic. For he proceeds to devote his narrative almost exclusively to a chronicle of the successive agencies in Washington which were concerned with the economic management of the home front—and the guerrilla war among the heads of these agencies. Far from examining the economic experience of the nation as it responded to the demands of the war, or gauging the relative contribution of American production to the eventual victory, he barely mentions the world outside Washington. His is therefore a study of bureaucratic politics, not of economic history nor of the war. As such, its value is principally that of a memoir by a man who had much close personal knowledge of the events he recounts. The study has a further interest as a document for what it reveals, sometimes inadvertently, of the evolution in the outlook of some of the New Dealers, who in 1939 hoped to salvage their domestic program of social reform by giving it the guise of national defense and who ultimately came to think of themselves as leaders in a worldwide crusade, whose principal allies were big business and the military.

PAUL FARMER, *University of Wisconsin*

SHIPS FOR VICTORY: A HISTORY OF SHIPBUILDING UNDER THE U. S. MARITIME COMMISSION IN WORLD WAR II. By *Frederic C. Lane*. With collaboration of *Blanche D. Coll*, *Gerald J. Fischer*, and *David B. Tyler*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1951, pp. xx, 881, \$12.50.) It is sad to reflect that lack of congressional appropriations has terminated the ambitious series, "Historical Reports on War Administration," undertaken by presidential directive in World War II. The volume under review was planned and begun as a part of that series but was completed at the expense of private institutions and, one suspects, at the personal sacrifice of its principal author. It is an excellent study, solid and scholarly; and, so thoroughly is it packed with lessons in shipbuilding during an emergency, it once again underscores the contention that such investigations are as essential to national security as tanks and bullets. All aspects of the Maritime Commission are treated in great detail. Beginning with a comprehensive analysis of the Maritime Commission legislation of 1936, the various waves of expansion are described, followed by lucid discussions of such problems as contracts, management, manpower, job training, labor relations, types and designs, decentralization of building facilities and of supervision, shipyard expansion, multiple production, health, morale, allocations of materials, cracking of welded ships, co-ordination with the Navy, and renegotiation of contracts. The reading is usually heavy going, but this is probably inherent in the technical nature of much of the subject matter. On occasions, such as the discussion of steel allocations for 1943 and the cancellation of Andrew J. Higgins' contract, the narrative is highly exciting. Most admirable is the author's refusal to speculate on the lessons inherent in his treatment for current or future crises. The facts are there, objectively recorded, and these current or future shipbuilding administrators will find of utmost value only if they attempt to view the facts in the light of circumstances existing at the time. "The lessons that should be drawn from the experience of 1940-1945," concludes Mr. Lane, "will depend on the situation to which they are to be applied." On the whole, the Maritime Commission, and especially Vice Admirals Emory S. Land and Howard L.

Vickery, fare exceedingly well. Theirs was a heavy burden, which they, already experienced in the task, bore with courage, imagination, and improvisation. But the author, as was guaranteed in his contract, does not hesitate to criticize when it seems justified. Most open to attack was the waste of some manpower and materials through the hoarding of labor in certain yards and failure properly to keep all movement of materials fully recorded and geared to actual production rates. While admitting that the problem was formidable, the author states that "inventory control and accounting were weak points in the Commission's functioning." Yet the strong point certainly was "that it produced ships and produced them fast": 5,601 vessels displacing more than 54,000,000 deadweight tons with which to help win the Battle of the Atlantic and bridge two oceans for the transfer of America's sinews of war.

JETER A. ISELY, *Princeton University*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THOMAS POWNALL, BRITISH DEFENDER OF AMERICAN LIBERTY: A STUDY OF ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *John A. Schutz*, California Institute of Technology. [Old Northwest Historical Series, Volume V.] (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1951, pp. 340, \$10.00.) The book's opening sentence both sets the theme and provides an excellent illustration of the author's style: "The entrance of Thomas Pownall (1722-1805) upon the American colonial scene was a dramatic one, and keynoted the brilliant career of an obscure, young Englishman, who, in the turbulent pre-revolutionary years, was catapulted with meteoric success to a position of peculiar prestige and prominence in British political circles." Basing his story upon manuscript materials available in this country but not upon those in the Public Record Office, Mr. Schutz describes the American career of perhaps the most interesting and talented of the pre-Revolutionary royal governors. It is a far more informative account of this phase of Pownall's career than appears in the only other book about him, Charles Pownall's family biography of 1908. Issue can be taken with some of Mr. Schutz's judgments, as, for instance, with his flat declaration on page 179 that there were no party politics in Massachusetts in the 1750's or early 60's. Governor Thomas Hutchinson, whom he decries, says that there were, as does the evidence in the Loudoun papers and elsewhere. More important, perhaps, and more regrettable, is Mr. Schutz's failure to rise to the unusual opportunity presented to him by his subject. Pownall was one of those rare people who are both political theorist and politician. At the age of thirty he published a treatise in which he expressed preference for a kind of benevolent despotism which should be based on the golden chain of nature which linked all men together. He then went to the colonies, conducted a survey of them, drew up a plan of government for a new colony on the shores of Lake Erie, worked out a scheme for Indian management, became "secretary extraordinary" to a British commander-in-chief, and then governor of Massachusetts Bay—all within the space of five years. When he returned to England, he wrote wise recommendations for the handling of the delicate situation which had developed through English management of the colonies. In his old age he wrote other treatises on the changes which the creation of an independent America had made in the European and the world balance of power. Here is a subject to whet a historian's appetite. How far did this theorist put his ideas into practice? And what effect did his practical experience in running a government have upon his subsequent theorizing? Mr. Schutz does not give the answer.

STANLEY PARGELLIS, *Newberry Library*

THE PURITAN FRONTIER: TOWN-PLANTING IN NEW ENGLAND: COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1630-1660. By *William Haller, Jr.*, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Massachusetts. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 568.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 119, \$2.00.) As might be expected in a book dealing with a field long since carefully explored,

The Puritan Frontier opens up no new material, for the study is based upon town and general court records of the thirty years 1630-1660, and local histories, with, apparently, large dependence upon the latter. The selection of particular towns discussed is heavily weighted in favor of Massachusetts, perhaps a reasonable choice in view of the relative number of Bay colony inhabitants and settlements of the era, yet still a disappointingly rapid dismissal of plantations in the other four colonies where some interesting variations from the Massachusetts pattern occurred. Oddly enough for the work of an economist, this small volume treats only lightly of the economic factors bearing upon the founding of new towns and land allotments. Though Dr. Haller speaks of the inconvenience to settlers whose arable and meadow lands were far removed from their house plots and describes the consequent tendency to split off the outlying lands to make new towns, he passes over quickly the effects of sheer land hunger felt by men who, either by ill luck or by reason of being late-comers to a town, found themselves allotted the least fertile holdings. Nor, in this reviewer's opinion, does he give sufficient weight to the importance attached to providing for craftsmen when town lots were being distributed. Three brief sentences cover this theme. The examples of land offered free as inducement to smiths, millers, and weavers to settle in a new town are surely proportionately as numerous before, as after, 1660. Nevertheless, despite his reliance on well-thumbed sources and despite repetition in many passages of facts and views known to every student of American colonial history, Dr. Haller has succeeded in so regrouping familiar data as to make some contribution to understanding colonial expansion. His thesis, albeit narrow, is clearly developed, and his style is pleasantly unpretentious. While the experienced scholar will find here little to command attention, the person less well versed in early New England history can read this study with profit.

CONSTANCE McL. GREEN, *Washington, D. C.*

THE HAWTHORNES: THE STORY OF SEVEN GENERATIONS OF AN AMERICAN FAMILY. By *Vernon Loggins*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 365, \$5.00.) This book tells the tale of seven generations of the Hawthorne family, following it through three hundred years, from the grim Puritan, Major William Hawthorne, down to the days of Rose (Mother Alphonsa) and her delinquent brother, Julian. We have here, for the first time, an adequate account of the dreadful Puritan judge and his no less dreadful son. The story is told well, and honestly, and seems likely to stand the test of time. It begins in Berkshire, England, and comes to an end in California, and is, on the whole, sad. An examination of what Mr. Loggins modestly calls his "Bibliographical Note" shows that he has read and consulted everything of value and importance relating to the somewhat mysterious author of *The Scarlet Letter* and his miserable forebears and his unhappy descendants. The greatest member of the seven generations came to the conclusion that life is made up of marble and mud, and readers of this book can do no more than give their consent to his gloomy conclusion. The chapters on the Salem witchcraft mania of 1692 and the notorious murder of Captain Joseph White in 1830 are of special importance. As late as twenty years ago the managing editor of the *New England Quarterly* raised a hubbub by printing a first-hand account of that scandalous murder. As might be expected, the central interest in this book is the study of the character of the enigmatic author of his one great book, *The House of the Seven Gables*. People who know Salem report that some of Nathaniel Hawthorne's associates were no better than they should have been, and that he himself was happier out of his native town than in it. Son of a neurotic widow, loyal friend of Franklin Pierce, he died of sheer despair in the midst of the Civil War.

The author is to be complimented for his power of selection, and his style, in spite of the fact that the story he had to tell is dreary.

STEWART MITCHELL, *Massachusetts Historical Society*

PRICES AND INFLATION DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, PENNSYLVANIA, 1770-1790. By *Anne Bezanson*. Assisted by *Blanch Daley*, *Marjorie C. Denison*, and *Miriam Hussey*. [Industrial Research Department, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania Research Studies, XXXV.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951, pp. xvi, 362, \$6.75.) This volume completes the series of studies on pre-Civil War price history for the Philadelphia area, a series projected and carried out by Dr. Bezanson and her associates and assistants. The book complements the two previous publications, *Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1720-1775*, by Anne Bezanson, Robert D. Gray, and Miriam Hussey (1935), and *Wholesale Prices in Philadelphia, 1784-1861* (Parts I and II, 1936 and 1937), by the same authors. Largely because the statistics for the Revolutionary era differ in sources and coverage from the other two periods, the volume under review overlaps by a few years both the first volume and the second. In *Prices and Inflation during the American Revolution, Pennsylvania, 1770-1790*, monthly indexes of prices of fifteen wholesale domestic and imported commodities are presented and discussed, and these range alphabetically from beef to wheat, including such commodities as bar iron and West Indian rum. Ten other important but less complete commodity series—such as cotton, rice, and tobacco—are also studied and included in the appendix tables, making a total of twenty-five. Unlike the other volumes, which are based upon price quotations in newspapers, merchants' trade books, and market reports, this volume for the years 1775 to 1784 utilizes solely the account books of contemporaries and their letters to clients, friends, and families. The task of selecting, sifting, and studying a considerable number of sources for each staple commodity must have been a difficult one, but the results of the study fully justify the effort. The discussion is detailed and presents not only a continuous record of wholesale prices of key commodities for the period but also shows the variations in price structure, the variable demand for commodities, the resort to new sources of supply, and the changing relationships among the different economic groups, all of which had a drastic effect upon the interdependent American economy. The difference in amount, source, and worth of the currency medium in circulation—continental, state, and specie—and the continually changing ratio between them add to the difficulties of price study for the period. The instability of the paper currency, the scarcity of certain types of goods, the stoppages of trade and the other innumerable problems brought by the war itself, as well as the state of the crops and the lack of transportation facilities, resulted in price changes and increases often marked by speed and unevenness. This study will be of much value to students of price history and financial history, and also to those whose interests are in the general field of American history because it traces the pattern of price changes and helps to explain economic conditions at any given time in this eventful period of unrest.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

- A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN WEST VIRGINIA: FROM COLONIAL TIMES TO 1949. By Charles H. Ambler, Professor Emeritus, West Virginia University. (Huntington, W.Va., Standard Printing and Publishing Company, 1951, pp. 1010, \$7.50.) Most of the American states now have histories of their educational developments and most of the higher educational institutions have histories of their origins and growth. Too few of either have been done by people trained in historical scholarship. But the case is strikingly different in the present work. The author is a distinguished historian, has had a long and successful career in the writing and teaching of history, and has put into this huge study many years of solid research. He modestly calls it "A History . . ." while he could very properly have called it "The History of Education in West Virginia." The educational theories and practices of that state evolved along with those of the parent state until 1863, when West Virginia was formed out of the Old Dominion and came into the Union. Jefferson's famous educational plan in 1779 for his state failed of enactment into law, the act

of 1796 and subsequent legislation were defective, and Virginia did not do much for public education until 1870. But it is of interest to observe that prior to 1860 there was evidence of rising educational interest in the western counties that came to form West Virginia. Beginning with the colonial period the story is told in an interesting manner to 1949, and deals with almost every aspect of education in one American state—public and private schools, efforts at reorganization after the dark and discouraging period that followed the Civil War, the severe economic dislocation that began in 1929, the education of the Negro, the training and certification of teachers, professional organizations and journalism, libraries, attention to the deaf and blind and other physically handicapped people, and other aspects of education—the whole story for West Virginia is here. Written largely from original sources, well-documented with copious notes, and most carefully indexed, this book ranks high among the best state educational histories. The teacher and student of the educational and social history of the United States will find it most useful.

EDGAR W. KNIGHT, *University of North Carolina*

THE NEGRO AND FUSION POLITICS IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1894-1901. By *Helen G. Edmonds*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1951, pp. xiv, 260, \$5.00.) Dr. Edmonds has made a competent and significant, if somewhat pedestrian, addition to the growing body of monographic literature that supports a significant reappraisal of southern history during the period 1865-1900. This reappraisal has nowhere been more vigorously pursued than in North Carolina. Until relatively recent years the principal writers on the post-bellum history of that state (Ashe, Hamilton, Connor) were identified by family and social connections with the conservative wing of the Democratic party, and it is perhaps not surprising that the interpretation presented by their vigorous and competent scholarship accorded in general with the conceptions of that political element. To the more detached eye of a later group of historians the story has seemed otherwise than in earlier popular conceptions. The conservative Democrats have been less saviors of the state than guardians of a tight economic oligarchy based on the control of credit; the Populists and their predecessors seem earnest protestants against economic oppression rather than immoral radicals; Negroes appear rather a bewildered and nearly helpless minority than a dark threat of dominance; "white supremacy" has been more important as a means of deluding poorer whites into support of the traditional order than as a genuine issue. Dr. Edmonds has explored one of the most sensitive areas of this reappraisal by examining the role of the Negro in the period of the Fusion controversy. Her sober and incontrovertibly documented study demonstrates clearly that the Negro vote was by no means decisive in the Fusion victories, which were rather a broadly based uprising against Democratic rule; that Negro officeholders during the Fusion period were few and unimportant, and were generally men of education and character; that such violence as occurred in Wilmington and elsewhere was generally white-initiated; and that the charges of Negro dominance and misrule were calculatingly blown up by the Democratic press and leaders in the election of 1898. Sometimes she betrays a lack of intimate knowledge or "feeling" of the period—for instance, she is obviously unaware that Francis D. Winston was a Republican in his early career. She exaggerates the political influence of manufacturers in the 1880's, since they hardly emerged as a self-conscious group of conservatives until the last years of the century; and I think she underestimates the *bona fides* of Aycock, Simmons, Connor, and other leaders of the 1898 campaign in their pledges of educational improvement. But these are minor defects in a solid and useful work.

DAN LACY, *Washington, D. C.*

BENJAMIN HAWKINS, INDIAN AGENT. By *Merritt B. Pound*, University of Georgia. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1951, pp. ix, 270, \$4.00.) This study is more than an account of Benjamin Hawkins serving in the capacity of an Indian Agent. It is a scholarly biography of an able and conscientious public servant. The first five chapters deal with the early life of Hawkins, his services in the American Revolution, his labors in the Congress of the Articles of Confederation, and his work in the United States Senate. Hawkins was elected to the United States Senate from North Carolina in the autumn of 1789. Although a Federalist, he voted against the bill to charter a United States bank, but he supported the excise tax and the carriage tax. In regard to the diplomatic controversies, Hawkins usually sided with Jefferson over Hamilton and "sometimes went on confidential missions for the former" (p. 77). Georgia ignored the authority of the United States to regulate Indian affairs and signed with a few Creeks the Treaty of Shoulderbone, November 3, 1786, which ceded the Indian claims to all lands in Georgia east of the Oconee River. The Creek leader, Alexander McGillivray, was not present at the signing of the treaty and refused to recognize its validity. As McGillivray was a man of influence among the Creeks and in the pay of Spain, President Washington invited him to the nation's capital in 1790. The invitation was accepted and while he was there the Treaty of New York was signed, which Georgia refused to recognize. "McGillivray, despite stipends, annuities, and a commission as brigadier general, continued to oppose Georgia until his death in 1793" (p. 59). In 1795, Washington asked Hawkins to serve on a commission to negotiate a treaty with the Creek Indians to clear up the claims of Georgia to a large portion of their lands. "Perhaps no single event of Hawkins's career was as consequential as his participation in the negotiations of this treaty [Coleraine]. It played no small part in his appointment as Agent" (p. 84, n. 6). The Treaty of Coleraine confirmed the Treaty of New York, and it was ratified despite Georgia's opposition. The last nine chapters of this study deal with Hawkins as Indian Agent from 1796 until his death in 1816. These were vital years in Indian affairs. Federal factories or trading posts were established among the Creeks, Cherokees, and other tribes in order to control the native tribes, to attract the Indian trade to the Americans, and to counteract the Spanish and British influence. A chapter is devoted to Tecumseh and to the propaganda of his prophets among the Creeks and other tribes. The Upper Creeks, as a result, waged war on the whites, but the Lower Creeks, in the main, remained loyal. General Jackson crushed the Upper Creeks and dictated the Treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814. This book is well written and contains almost no errors of fact. However, there are a few slips in proofreading. For example, Governor Tattnall's name is misspelled three times (pp. 171, 177, and 269), and the date of January, 1703 (p. 178) is given for the ratification of the Treaty of Fort Wilkinson when it should be 1803. The author, however, has produced a scholarly as well as a much-needed book.

GEORGE D. HARMON, *Lehigh University*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

PETER SKENE OGDEN'S SNAKE COUNTRY JOURNALS, 1824-25 AND 1825-26.

Edited by E. E. Rich. Assisted by A. M. Johnson. With an Introduction by Burt Brown Barker. [Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, Volume XIII.] (London, the Society, 1950, pp. lxxix, 283.) Peter Skene Ogden headed the Snake Country brigade of the Hudson's Bay Company during six of the most eventful years in the history of the American fur trade. The collapse of Astoria in 1813 had left the Oregon country almost exclusively a British preserve, but in 1824 American trappers returned in force to the region west of the Continental Divide. Economically, the Columbia had to be fought for on its frontiers, and Ogden was elected to do the fighting. His journals, describing the ebb and flow of the Hudson's Bay Company's fortunes while the Snake Country was being turned into a fur desert, are one of the great treasures of western history. The journal of Ogden's first expedition, 1824-25, has never been available to scholars, and it appears now supplemented by a notable diary kept by Ogden's clerk, William Kittson, and by Kittson's illuminating map of the itinerary. Within the scope of a brief review, it is impossible to do justice to the wealth of information these three documents contain, but it is delightful to contemplate the effect they will have on historiography, for clearly we are going to see a vigorous rewriting of the local history of Montana, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and Oregon, and extensive revision of the standard texts on fur trade and exploration. Only less newsworthy is Ogden's journal of 1825-26 which rounds out the present volume. A version of this diary was published in 1909, but that version, it is now evident, was abridged to the point of mutilation. A second volume of Ogden's Snake Country Journals, with the complete texts of 1826-27, 1827-28, and 1828-29, will be impatiently awaited. (The diary of the 1829-30 expedition, alas, was lost in the Columbia River in 1830.) Once the source documents have been spread upon the record, a life-size biography of Ogden will be an obvious necessity; T. C. Elliott's slim sketch of his life cannot much longer suffice, for Peter Skene Ogden is one of the half-dozen greatest figures in the history of the exploration of the interior West. With this Volume XIII of its publications, the Hudson's Bay Record Society has parted company with the Champlain Society and hereafter will stand upon its own feet.

DALE L. MORGAN, *Washington, D. C.*

THE WEST OF ALFRED JACOB MILLER (1837). From the Notes and Water Colors in the Walters Art Gallery, with an Account of the Artist by Marvin C. Ross. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1951, pp. xxviii, 200, liv, \$10.00.) This magnificent volume is dedicated to Mae Reed Porter, "whose enthusiasm for Alfred Jacob Miller has resulted in the painter's coming finally into his due place in both the artistic and the historical worlds." In these words the publishers pay their tribute to Mrs. Porter, who surely deserves a vast amount of credit for her ceaseless efforts to win recognition for Miller. On the other hand, the publishers, too, deserve praise for recognizing the value of such a publication as this one and being willing to undertake the expense and risk of putting it before the public. Here is a fine example of how publishing houses can improve public taste and raise the cultural level of the people. Many years ago, when an article by the reviewer appeared

giving data about a botanist on one of Sir William Drummond Stewart's exploring expeditions in the Far West, Mrs. Porter wrote immediately to learn whether the botanist's letters included any information about Miller. Even then she was sure that eventually her enthusiasm for Miller's sketches, water colors, and oils would be shared by the world at large. Her faith has been rewarded. Today this first American artist of any merit to paint the scenes and characters of the Far West is recognized as a genius in his chosen field. His biography has appeared. His works illustrate important books. Miller was largely American trained. Born and educated in Baltimore, he showed early talent, and without leaving his home city was instructed in portraiture by no less a master than Thomas Sully himself. Later he studied a year or so in Europe, just when the romantic school of water-color painters was in the forefront of artistic influence. Though Miller became a renowned portraitist, today his water colors are rated higher than his oils. Every one of the two hundred reproductions in this book has historical value as well as artistic appeal, though the original, on-the-spot sketches have even more value to the historian. Sometime, it is to be hoped, those day-by-day recordings of Drummond's expedition of 1837 will likewise be published. Most of the published water colors show Indians, singly or in groups. Though the portraits of Indian women are too saccharine for modern taste, as a rule, the artist forgets his romanticism as soon as he places a squaw in the saddle, or puts a paddle in her hand. In other words, Miller's pictures of action are better than his portraits. His horses and scenery are also excellent. The detail of this series is almost unbelievable. It depicts the Far West in 1837 as nothing else to date has done. By studying the water colors one follows the caravan of 1837 in its long trek, becomes acquainted with its leader, artist, and members, camps with the travelers, watches the approach of Indians afoot or on horses, thrills to buffalo, antelope, elk, and grizzly hunts, beholds the capture of wild horses, and sees the trapper at rendezvous, on the trap line, crossing rivers, camping, and sometimes starving. In addition, there are scores of pictures that represent Sioux, Shoshone, Pawnee, Crow, Blackfeet, Snake, and other Indians in characteristic dress and action. One even sees Fort Laramie, both inside and out, and a typical frontier log cabin. Then, to make posterity deeper in his debt, the artist himself writes a brief explanation of each picture. For the historian this is almost unbelievably good fortune. In fact, it amounts to a history of the 1837 expedition, with a dissertation on Indian life, the fur trade, and the Far West itself thrown in for good measure. These "notes" have been printed in this volume on left-hand pages, facing black and white reproductions of the water colors. Only one colored plate is included, but its beauty makes one long for the day when color reproductions will be both cheap and faithful.

GRACE LEE NUTE, *Minnesota Historical Society*

ON GOOD GROUND: THE STORY OF THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH IN ST. PAUL. By *Sister Helen Angela Hurley*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1951, pp. xiii, 312, \$3.75.) This little book is a centennial history of the Sisters of St. Joseph in the province of St. Paul, opening with the arrival of the first, small contingent of sisters on November 3, 1851. It is written out of the heart and the memory as well as out of the records. The memory—one can feel (and almost hear) its formation, settling, and refinement through the years—is the community's collective memory, finding its voice in and through the writer's personality. The records, scattered and fragmentary, are used with care; and the gaps are clearly indicated. The collection of data obviously required a great, far-spreading effort. The careful fusion of record and memory produces a work of genuine interest and worth. The reader is carried along, delighted, by the writer's refreshing manner and ease of

style. The expression ranges smoothly from newsy, chatty bits and frank, revealing insights, to the sustained flow of beautiful prose. The action of the story takes place consistently in the proper setting of regional history. The large, controversial issues of education and religion in the emerging society of the region are not examined in detail and roundly; they are handled lightly and are pursued only to the point necessary for background and continuity. The leading characters of the piece (including Archbishop John Ireland, his sister Ellen, and their cousin, Ellen Howard, Sister Antonio, and others) are made to live, in human fullness—their strength, their elements of greatness, and their limitations balanced neatly or suggested in deft strokes. It may be hoped that others will follow the author's practice of depositing in public or private institutional archives many materials that have been gathered with difficulty and that may prove useful to later researchers. This little volume, well indexed, is a handsome example of the publisher's art; it does honor to the University of Minnesota Press.

ROBERT P. FOGERTY, *College of St. Thomas*

MICHIGAN COPPER AND BOSTON DOLLARS: AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE MICHIGAN COPPER MINING INDUSTRY. By *William B. Gates, Jr.* [Studies in Economic History.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. xii, 301, \$5.00.) Mr. Gates provides us in this book with the first scholarly history of the Michigan copper mining industry. He traces the evolution of the industry from the opening of the Michigan lodes through the period when Michigan copper dominated the American market to the present era of decline and dependence on government favor. No aspect of the industry has escaped Mr. Gates's attention. He is concerned with exploration, production, prices, dividends, technological innovation, transportation, financial and managerial organization, consolidation and integration, labor relations, the impact of the industry on the community, and the role of government. He has indeed attempted to do too much in too little space with the result that many of the subjects that he treats are not developed as fully as they might be. The author makes his most significant contributions when he analyzes price-production relationships, the impact of technological change on the development of the industry, the participation of Michigan concerns in attempts to control the copper market through domestic or international agreements, and the effect of wartime controls on the industry. He pays too little attention to the Boston part of the story and makes no real attempt to solve the "mystery" of Boston predominance in the financing of the industry. He also is insufficiently concerned with the role of the entrepreneur and the company agent in the development of the industry: such names as Agassiz, Shaw, and MacNaughton do not receive the attention they merit. Although Mr. Gates has used the reports of various Michigan copper companies, he has consulted the manuscript files of only Calumet and Hecla. The book benefits from the inclusion of an appendix of statistics and a glossary of mining terms, but its map of the Copper Country leaves much to be desired. The author's conclusion, incidentally, that the current world copper shortage justifies the adoption of a "waiting policy" by the remaining Michigan copper companies is supported by the recent extension of an RFC loan to the Copper Range Company for the development of its white pine property.

SIDNEY FINE, *University of Michigan*

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Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham¹

GENERAL

- LA ENSEÑANZA DE LA HISTORIA EN COLOMBIA. By Miguel Aguilera. [Memorias sobre la enseñanza de la historia, V.] (México, D.F., Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, 1951, pp. viii, 167, \$15.00 [m.mex.]) To present-day Colombians, history is very largely the history of their own country. That at any rate is the impression one gets from reading this book on the teaching

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

of history in the schools and universities of Colombia. The only other type of history course which receives much attention is universal history. How the various types fare is indicated by the author's distribution of his space. To the history of Colombia, he devotes ninety pages; to universal history, five pages; and to all other kinds of history, six pages. Since the volume under review was published under Pan American auspices, it is particularly interesting to note that the history of the Americas is taught only in a few *colegios*, that the text which they use was written by a Frenchman, and that there are apparently no courses either on the other Latin-American countries or on the United States. The present heavy stress on the history of Colombia is a comparatively recent development, and only one of many expressions of the rising tide of nationalism in that country. As the author shows, in the nineteenth century the emphasis was very strongly upon universal history. In discussing this shift of emphasis, and in other ways, he has brought to light many facts of considerable interest to students of the intellectual history of Colombia. On the other hand, he does not give a clear picture of the way in which history is taught there at the present time, and readers not already familiar with the Colombian educational system may find his account confusing. The chapter "Visión de conjunto" does not provide the summary or bird's-eye view which it seems to promise; instead, it is a statement of the author's personal opinions on the subject. A 23-page appendix contains several recent official "programs" of history courses.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER, *University of Pennsylvania*

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COLONIAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

- BARCIA'S CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE CONTINENT OF FLORIDA. Translated with an Introduction by *Anthony Kerrigan*. Introduced with a Foreword by *Herbert E. Bolton*. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1951, pp. lx, 426.) The *Chronological History of the Continent of Florida*, the work of Andrés González de Barcia Carbillido y Zúñiga, is a year-by-year account of happenings in Florida from 1512 to 1722. By *Florida* Barcia understood the whole American continent north of the settled portions of Mexico. In consequence, he gives us in brief form not only the Spanish but the whole story of Dutch, French, and English efforts from the gulf of Mexico to Canada. The present translation will be more valuable to laymen because the Spanish point of view pervades the whole work. For example, in discussing English grants at the time of the Jamestown settlement, Barcia observes that "The English King also ceded the company the mainland and the islands situated between 34 and 41 degrees north (as if they had been his) . . ." For the teacher of colonial history who is not at home in Spanish there will be many significant events in United States history new to him. Out of deference to the detailed account given by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Barcia foregoes discussing the De Soto expedition. However, he includes the Coronado expedition as a part of the exploration of Florida. This emphasis was decided upon over two hundred years ago for the Spanish edition of this book, but it is still valid, since *The Florida of the Inca* to which Barcia deferred has just been rendered into exceedingly good English by John and Jeannette Varner and published (Austin, Texas, 1951). Thus two new

university presses, unbeknownst to each other, are launched the same year with the publication of English editions of Spanish works which dovetail so nicely as to give the impression that they were planned as one. It is an even more remarkable coincidence that this year has also seen the appearance of an English edition of a book no less a classic of the Conquest than *The Florida of the Inca*: Motolinía's *History of the Indians of New Spain* (Washington, Academy of American Franciscan History, 1951). In this work Dr. Francis Borgia Steck gives us an excellent translation and a model of careful and competent editing. The format, type, and binding of the present edition of Barcia's work were designed to imitate the original as it might now appear. The brown paper and binding, while excellent and pleasant, do not necessarily represent the aging of a book from eighteenth-century Spain, which produced such superb rag paper that unless long exposed to weather and light it remains fine and white to this day. Mr. Kerrigan's translation is excellent and straightforward. His introduction, although it involves much literary exertion, is discursive and tangential. The editor and publisher are, however, to be commended for the loving care they so apparently gave to making this attractive edition available to so many Americans.

JOHN TATE LANNING, *Duke University*

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SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

NEW SPAIN'S CENTURY OF DEPRESSION. By *Woodrow Borah*. [Ibero-Americana, No. 35.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1951, pp. 58, 75 cents.) Professor Borah begins his narrative with the assertion that historians "have tended to assume that New Spain had a continuously expanding economy." I doubt that this assumption has been made by the historians of recent years. In my *Historical Evolution of Hispanic America*, first published in 1932, I treated the seventeenth century as a period of decline not only in New Spain but also in all Spanish America, and as early as 1929 this thesis began to be supported by the publications of Professor Hamilton on the output of the Spanish American mines. Most writers of textbooks in this field have simply passed over the years from 1550 to 1750 without making any assumptions regarding the trends of development. Professor Borah, for Mexico and incidentally for the other Spanish colonies where the native races were numerous, elaborates the data which formed the basis for the conclusion which I set forth twenty years ago. My conclusion seemed to follow logically from the well-known sharp decline in the Indian population first pointed out by Father Las Casas a few decades after the Conquest. With only a few Spaniards in the New World and nearly all of these indisposed to engage in manual toil, the decided reduction in the labor force was bound, it seemed to me, to produce an economic depression. There is nothing startling in this conclusion. Far more significant is Professor Borah's contention that this rapid decline in the native population exerted a profound influence upon the land and labor systems and the racial composition and historical destiny of Mexico. It was a factor in the rapid growth of latifundia, it led to an eagerness for Negro slaves, it speeded the development of peonage, and it accelerated miscegenation. "Had the aboriginal populations of central Mexico borne the impact of Conquest with little demographic loss, there would have been scant room for their conquerors except as administrators and receivers of tribute. Mexico today would be an Indian area from which, in the process of achieving independence from Spain, a white upper stratum holding itself apart, like the British in India [or like the French in Haiti], could easily have been expelled" (p. 44). And the same conjecture might be made with reference to northern Central America and Andean South America where the Indians were numerous. The labor shortage resulting from the sharp decline in native populations, and the readjustments which this compelled "extended and strengthened the emerging hybrid Mexican culture" and profoundly influenced the economic, social, and political history not only of Mexico but also of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia.

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MEXICAN SILVER AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Clement G. Motten*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press for American Historical Association, 1950, pp. vii, 90, \$2.00.) Specialists in the United States have made considerable progress in the investigation of the Enlightenment in Hispanic America since Professor John Tate Lanning published his pioneer work on *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies* in 1940. This was followed the next year by Arthur P. Whitaker's monograph on the Huancavelica mercury mine in Peru and by a session on the Enlightenment at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, the papers read at this session being published in 1942 under Whitaker's editorship. The monograph now under review is a minor contribution to the same subject. These various investigations indicate that while there were no very brilliant achievements in the realm of science and technology in the Hispanic world during the eighteenth cen-

ture, that world was not the unmitigated stronghold of obscurantism and intolerance that it often is assumed to have been. Professor Motten deals not only with the state of mining in New Spain and attempts made to improve it during the eighteenth century; he also describes the state of learning in that colony, which was probably the most advanced of all the Hispanic colonies in the New World. No startling progress was achieved in either mining or education during the closing years of the colonial epoch; but there was some progress and the pace was accelerating when it was interrupted by the long struggle for independence and the many civil wars that followed until order was finally restored by Porfirio Díaz. This and the other works mentioned are important mainly as background for the period since the 1880's when Hispanic America began to enter the Industrial Age, as I have contended in my recent volume dealing with that subject and in a number of articles published in *Inter-American Economic Affairs* and elsewhere. The "paths to the present" in this region are being rapidly marked out not only by scholars in the United States but by those in the Hispanic lands as well. This reviewer hopes that Professor Motten will continue his investigations. His first work on the subject, despite defects in proofreading and a lack of unity that tends to confuse at times, indicates that he has excellent technical equipment for the task.

J. FRED RIPPY, *University of Chicago*

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

The New York Meeting, 1951

The American Historical Association held its sixty-sixth annual meeting on December 28, 29, and 30 in New York. Registrations at headquarters in the Hotel Statler numbered 1,533. This was the largest meeting in the history of the Association. Except for two meetings of the American Society of Church History, which took place in the Hotel McAlpin, all the Association sessions and those of the sixteen affiliated societies in attendance were held in the Statler.

Local arrangements were excellently handled by Henry F. Graff, Columbia University, who enjoyed hearty co-operation from Wallace K. Ferguson, New York University, Robert W. Hill, New York Public Library, Louis L. Snyder, the City College of New York, Chilton Williamson, Barnard College, and John H. Wuorinen, Columbia University. The hotel staff worked efficiently and successfully to overcome many of the physical handicaps of an inadequate lobby and mezzanine, rooms either too large or much too small for the sessions, and their location on several floors.

The Committee on Program, with William H. Dunham, Jr., of Yale as its chairman, provided an unusually far-ranging series of topics. With his assistants, Evalyn A. Clark of Vassar, Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky, Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago, and Anatole G. Mazour of Stanford, he continued the tendency toward an international approach that has appeared in the program since the end of World War II. Indeed, the entire program, consisting of some fifty-five sessions, might well have been entitled "Toward a Definition of the Practical Role of History and the Historian in Present-Day World Affairs." Topics such as "Supra-National Ideologies," "James Madison and Our Times," "Has the Past a Place in Modern History?" and "Contemporary History: Its Validity," all revealed a preoccupation with the question, what are the values and aids history has for the present? The presence of so many federal historians and members of the armed services who attended the sessions, both as participants and as auditors, would indicate that the historian's talents are being used by the government in understanding contemporary problems and in shaping policy.

A second theme of the sessions, closely related to the first, was the concern over the historian's training and his positive role in society. Sessions were held to discuss "Graduate Training," "Teaching Ph.D.'s How to Teach," "Writing History," and "Book Reviewing."

Still a third major theme appeared in the programs: that of a reappraisal of some of the established schools of historical interpretation. Hans Kohn of the City College of New York delivered a paper on "Re-Thinking German History,"

while David H. Willson of the University of Minnesota spoke on "The Emancipation of British History from Liberal Control." And from the American side, James C. Malin of the University of Kansas led a biting attack on the present tyranny of the liberal tradition in American historiography. Undoubtedly the high point in historical soul-searching was reached, however, when Frank Craven of Princeton asked whether American history started before or after 1783.

II

Two of the general sessions which met on Friday, December 28, dealt with American history, and two had to do with the much broader subjects of supranational ideologies and of writing the history of civilizations. At the session on James Madison's role in American history on the two-hundredth anniversary of his birth, Chairman Thomas Perkins Abernethy of the University of Virginia introduced Irving Brant, who discussed "Madison and His Times." Brant said that the time has come to restore Madison as a major historical figure. Madison, he found, had actually preceded Jefferson in beginning the political cleavage that led to the creation of the American two-party system, but he has never been given credit for his activity in founding the Republican party. Adrienne Koch of New York University, in speaking of Madison's importance for the present, praised his accomplishments as a founding father and particularly his reconciliation of the paradoxical issues of "power and liberty." Unlike John Stuart Mill, Madison saw power as a necessary condition for the realization of liberty. Unlike Karl Marx, he saw factions as a natural condition of man and society, and so was able to provide checks against undue force, and yet to escape a utopian view of a classless society. Power to extend liberty, and the United States as a "Workshop of Liberty" provide, in Madisonian terms, a living philosophy which can effectively combat that of communism. In commenting upon these two papers, Harry M. Tinkcom of Temple University felt that Brant's efforts to fix a precise date for the beginnings of party cleavage failed to take into consideration that conflict in colonial, revolutionary, and confederation eras which had already created basic opinion groups by 1790. He also warned that overemphasis of the "great man" explanation of party origins should be countered by a grass-roots study of party growth in each of the thirteen states.

At the afternoon session on "The Start of American History: 1783, Before or After?" Viola F. Barnes of Mount Holyoke College reviewed the battles that have taken place over the conflicting approach to, and philosophies of, American history. She observed that the conflict is not merely between the old and the new, but among the differing patterns of thought held by those struggling for a philosophy of history which will fit their particular idealism in world relationships today. Frank Craven of Princeton, the main speaker, held the thesis that too many members of the profession had accepted a view that American history is naturally divided into a British and an American period, and that one effect

had been to obscure in some measure the essential unity of the American experience. Edmund S. Morgan of Brown University suggested that more attention to the colonial period as an essential part of American history might regain for the professional historian that larger audience enjoyed by Bancroft and perhaps fill a public need now being met only by journalists and historical novelists. Ruth V. Miller of Vassar, on the other hand, spoke for a clear integration of American history with the mainstream of European.

Kenneth M. Setton of the University of Pennsylvania introduced the three speakers on "Supra-National Ideologies." The first, Peter Charanis of Rutgers University, in discussing the "Aims of the Medieval Crusaders and How They Were Viewed by Byzantium," traced certain changes which took place in the foreign policy of Byzantium, in her relations with both eastern and western peoples, as a result of the appearance of the Crusaders in the East. In the next paper, a long one, George Lenczowski of Hamilton College explored the "Aims of the Comintern and Cominform." The Comintern, which was originally conceived as a militant force for world revolution, was transformed, after Trotsky's eclipse, into an instrument of Soviet foreign policy. Its formal dissolution in 1943 changed little in the master-and-pupil relationship which had existed between Moscow and foreign communists, for the tradition of complete subordination was renewed in 1947 by the Cominform. The main task of this organization was to act as the watchdog of doctrinal purity among the satellite communist parties. Russell Fessenden of the State Department read the third paper, on "Soviet Imperialism in Hungary"; Fessenden emphasized that, despite the abundant use of the clichés of international communism, the military, agricultural, industrial, and financial activities of the government of the USSR in Hungary were designed to exploit Hungary for the benefit of the Russians. Their methods and effects were imperialist and nationalist, at variance with the obligations acknowledged and the objectives announced by Soviet propaganda, and they seem certain to alienate the Hungarians who are now being mulcted by the foreigners who dominate their entire political and economic life. Marshall W. Baldwin of New York University, in commenting on the papers of this session, observed that Fessenden alone had used the term "supra-national ideology" and tried in some measure to illustrate its meaning and significance.

The Friday afternoon session on "Uniformities in History," chaired by Rushton Coulborn of Atlanta University, marked a significant departure from the strict fold of history. A. L. Kroeber of the department of anthropology at Columbia spoke on "The Delimitation of Civilizations." Since neither historians nor anthropologists have seriously faced the problems of considering and comparing total civilizations, Kroeber sought to point up the "uniformities or recurrent regularities" which exist in all civilizations. Such factors as discontinuity in space or time, language, religion, political and military development, economics and technology, and style ("all the arts and intellectual creativities such as phi-

losophy and science") may well be used to delimit different civilizations. Art, for example, expresses values which reflect the value systems in a civilization. Such systems have a history, and in their culminations they are sometimes accompanied by bursts of achievement in government and in wealth. The courses of such culminations are perhaps as close to constituting reasonable uniformities as any which occur in history. Kroeber made it clear, however, that this intercultural uniformity is not in content but in the form taken by the historical process; not in the events but in the pattern of events as something tending to recur; and it is connected in its occurrence with those distinctive larger aggregations or nexuses of culture which we call civilizations. The form and structure possessed by civilizations therefore invite a comparative morphology. Yet, he concluded, the fact that the forms are always in process means that they are also historical phenomena and must be viewed historically. "Uniformities and Differences in the Growth of Nations" by Karl W. Deutsch of M.I.T. was the subject of a second paper at this session. Comment on the two papers was by Marshall Knappen of the University of Michigan and John H. Mundy of Columbia.

Dayton Phillips of Vanderbilt University was the main speaker at the session on "History and the Tradition of Learning." His paper "Has the Present a Place in Medieval History?" supported the view that although the present, strictly speaking, has no place in history, still history is influenced by the present because it depends upon present procedures. The present also creeps in illegitimately through misinterpretation of experience and through misuse of theoretical conceptions. The basic factor in historical interpretation, he argued, is empirical recognition of the relatively recurring ways that things act upon other things to produce certain consequences, and this is a matter of experience rather than abstract ideas. The main problem of the historian is that of using abstract conceptions to arrive at knowledge of temporal relations and causal connections. The claim that he should study the structure of past civilizations overemphasizes theoretical conceptions and leads to "pattern thinking." This sort of study, he concluded, has led to a misinterpretation of the place of histories written in the Middle Ages in the history of historiography. A reconsideration of these works, he believes, should lead us to place the origins of modern historiography deep in the Middle Ages, not in the Renaissance. William C. Bark of Stanford University, however, argued that the most unfortunate aspect of "presentism" was that it made the way easy for propagandists by appearing to give their so-called historical efforts the support of reputable scholars. He contended, against Phillips' view, that the authors of histories written in the Middle Ages, and in other periods, had too frequently used the past for present and even future needs. Margaret Hastings of New Jersey College for Women, Rutgers University, suggested that Phillips "had closed the front door to presentism while admitting it to the rear entrance." She inclined to support Bark on the question of medieval historians and sug-

gested that Augustine appeared to be the "great grandfather of the relativists." Howard M. Ehrmann of the University of Michigan looked at the controversy from the point of view of the modern historian. The last forty minutes of the session were devoted to an interchange of remarks between the floor and the speakers. Some fifteen individuals took part in the discussion moderated by E. Faye Wilson of Wellesley.

A second meeting concerned with "History and the Tradition of Learning" took place Saturday afternoon. Archibald S. Foord of Yale introduced the speaker, Charles E. Nowell of the University of Illinois, who discussed the question, "Has the Past a Place in Modern History?" All past generations have been "present-minded," Nowell explained. Each has felt that the events of its own time were of such outstanding and obvious significance that nothing of equal importance had ever before occurred in history. American historians are in danger of this approach today with their overemphasis, both in teaching and writing, on events of current significance and possibly of only ephemeral importance. Recent meetings of the American Historical Association gave Nowell cause for pessimism when he found that a high percentage of the sessions were devoted to "historical" matters well within the living memory of any middle-aged person, and these are invariably the sessions that draw the crowds. College history teaching and American history texts reflected a similar trend. Of the 1,300 doctoral dissertations now in progress, over half are concerned with the twentieth century! Such a heavy occupation with the timely and the "practical" appears to have killed the writing of grand-scale history in the United States, and to have left historical philosophy and all the great subjects to Europeans. Our professionals, Nowell concluded, are being jockeyed into a position that will turn many of them into scarcely more than glorified commentators on passing public events. Charles C. Bayley of McGill disagreed with some of Nowell's conclusions. The past meant a different thing for each era, he said. Thus for medieval man, the "living past" began with the Redemption; for the humanist, it began with the rise of classical literature in antiquity, and the chronological range of the "living" past was further telescoped in the French Revolutionary calendar of 1794 which declared 1792 to be the "Year One of the Republic." The conservative reaction, with its emphasis on tradition and custom, ensured a lengthening of the historical perspective, while the rapid advances of archaeology and of anthropology also contributed to press back the chronological limits of the past. Bayley agreed with Nowell, however, that "present-mindedness" has always existed in the sense that significant and continuous progress was generally regarded as a relatively recent phenomenon in the time-scale of history.

The program theme of analysis and reappraisal of existing schools of historical interpretation was well treated in two Saturday sessions. David H. Willson of the University of Minnesota traced "The Emancipation of British History from Liberal Control" and observed that the Whig or Liberal interpretation of his-

tory, as set by Hallam and Macaulay, provided a glorification of the Whig principles of 1689. J. A. Froude strengthened their interpretation by approaching history with a deep antipathy toward Rome and by a tendency toward hero worship acquired from Carlyle. The history written by the Gladstonian Liberals, such as E. A. Freeman and J. R. Green, was distorted by a worship of progress, a passionate love of political liberty, a sympathy with resistance to constituted authority, a hostility to the Church of England, and a hatred of war as utterly useless. The appearance of the works of Stubbs, Gardner, Ranke, Maitland, Gardiner, Firth, Chadwick, and Round marked an emancipation from the crudities of the liberal interpretation. With the breakdown of the liberal tradition, however, there has appeared a Tory or conservative point of view in books by Keith Feiling, D. L. Keir, Neale, Dietz, and Rowse. Francis C. James of Tulane University took issue with some of Willson's conclusions and asserted that party history did not begin with Hallam but with the formation of parties. The pioneers of modern English historiography who wrote during the Stuart period were motivated largely by the desire to justify Whig or Tory policies and although controversy fostered prejudice, it also begat accuracy and thoroughness. As a result of mutual criticism they came to recognize the value of the scientific method as employed in the new physical sciences. They also fostered a popular interest in history and encouraged the collection and preservation of manuscripts. Godfrey Davies of the Huntington Library remarked that with all the weaknesses of the liberal historians, one must not forget the fundamental liberties won with blood and tears and described with toil and sweat which they wrote about. The chairman of the session was Frederick C. Dietz of the University of Illinois, and the third commentator was Mary Albertson of Swarthmore College.

A reappraisal of "Current European Historiography" was the subject of the session presided over by President George N. Shuster of Hunter College. In a paper entitled "Re-Thinking Recent German History," Hans Kohn of the City College of New York surveyed the field of contemporary German historical writings having to do with the evaluation of developments in Germany since the Napoleonic time. He found many stones and an abundance of weeds, but also blooms which he thought likely to grow into highly significant fruit. Whereas historians like Ranke had been too greatly concerned with the state—though not in a chauvinistic sense—a number of contemporaries have elected to take their departure from Burckhardt, whom Kohn interpreted as being an exponent of the worth of the individual human being. He cited in particular Gerhard Ritter, whose recent writings give evidence of an honest effort to account for the sources of the German catastrophe; Friedrich Meinecke, a convert to a Christian liberalism from his earlier conservative Prussian past; Franz Schnabel, critic of Bismarckianism from the point of view of the federalism once advocated by Constantin Franz; and Ludwig Dehio. Reference was also made to Max Lehmann's *Bismarck*, described as a series of lectures interesting primarily as an illustration

of the transformation of a once arch-conservative German historian's thought. John Bowditch, University of Minnesota, expressed an initial regret that French historians have manifested little eagerness to grapple with questions raised by the cataclysmic events through which their country has recently passed. As exceptions, he cited works by Labrousse and Duveau in social and economic history, and Marc Bloch's *Etrange défaite*, termed "a classic expression of an intellectual's faith in the humanistic tradition." The greater portion of Bowditch's paper critically surveyed nonprofessional commentaries, memoirs, and interpretations. He began with Daniel Guérin's Marxist interpretation of the French Revolution and ended with Paul Boncour's *Entre deux guerres*. Robert G. L. Waite, Williams College, in his comment on Kohn's paper, contended that the supply of stones and weeds was far greater than that of the blooms presented as evidence. He was skeptical of Ritter's acceptance of liberal democracy, and he believed that Schnabel's federalism was retrospective rather than constructive. Waite argued that although some repudiation of Bismarckian nationalism was currently discernible in Germany, basic improvement of outlook would come only when German historians wrestled with the problem of the social structure of their country. Paul H. Beik, speaking briefly about Bowditch's conclusions, felt that his criticism of French professional historians had been too severe. The astringent criticism to which Guérin's book had been subjected was an example of the continuing value of observant scholarship.

At a session on "Constitutionalism: Safeguard of Freedom?" Ronald Thompson of George Washington University and Alison Reppy (whose paper was read by Sidney Asch) of the New York Law School, presented the obverse and reverse sides of the picture of constitutionalism. Thompson discussed "Constitutionalism versus Terrorism in the Soviet Order" and pointed out that history offers scarcely any examples of the antithesis of constitutionalism, for almost all countries have had a certain measure of constitutional organism. The antithesis is found in the systematic annihilation of constitutional safeguards in the Soviet order by the institution of terrorism. He discussed the need for an entirely different frame of reference in the investigation of such an order, and showed the way in which a façade of constitutionalism has accompanied the erection of a system of terror. This façade had deceived some analysts, but the escape clauses in the Soviet constitutional provisions have cleared the path for an operative system of force. He concluded that there is no other government in the world where the power of the state is so large and the right of the individual so small, nor where constitutionalism is so clearly superseded by terrorism, nor, in fact, where constitutional forms are so clearly designed to be evaded as in the Soviet Union. In Reppy's paper, attention was focused upon the continued maintenance and even extension of constitutional safeguards in the form of civil rights as construed by the United States Supreme Court. He referred to the recent and current cases before the Court pertaining to the principle of separation of church and state, as it mani-

feats itself in the question of released time in the schools, and to the equal rights of Negroes as they are involved in full access to public education. His discussion showed that the present Supreme Court remains a sensitive and vigorous agency for upholding the principle of constitutionalism through broad interpretation and full enforcement of civil rights in the United States. David M. Potter of Yale University served as the chairman of this session.

At the general session on Sunday morning E. L. Woodward of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, discussed "Contemporary History: Its Validity." Defining his subject as "the histories of yesterday which are being written today," he argued that the disadvantages—and advantages—of the writer of such histories, as compared with those of his colleague writing of a more remote period are not absolute but a matter of more or less. Woodward raised serious doubts whether historians of a more distant past are thinking clearly when they boast of an approach freer from emotion or a truer perspective than the "contemporary" historian can have. Obviously the contemporary historian has the advantage of more information and also a better chance to understand basic matters that leave no record except in the memory of contemporaries. Finally, Woodward argued that the denial of access to certain temporarily "secret" records is of relatively little importance in a democratic society in the context of a free and active discussion of public affairs.

In the discussion, Catherine S. Sims, Agnes Scott College, pled with historians to interest themselves more in bringing their knowledge and perspective to bear on contemporary discussions of public affairs. Philip Crowl, Department of the Army, spoke from experience to the point that the records of recent history are by no means unmanageable by reason of their abundance. Arthur Link of Northwestern without contesting Woodward's points, felt that he tended to underestimate the difficulties of writing recent history. These are such indeed that it is questionable whether they can be overcome except by co-operative undertakings in historiography, such as those of the armed forces to which Crowl referred.

Despite the departure of many from the convention, and the competition of a number of other sessions on Sunday morning, that on "The Problem of Conservative and Liberal Traditions in the Historiography of the United States" attracted more than a hundred hearers. James C. Malin, University of Kansas, delivered a paper which, beginning with a guarded detachment, worked up into a frontal attack on the attitudes and social tendencies of recent leaders in American historiography. The terms liberal and conservative, he suggested, are apt to be misused, since individuals are rarely wholly one or the other. Against collectivist liberalism Malin protested. To a larger degree than is recognized, he insisted, American thinking has become totalitarian. In history this has proceeded through the development of a subjectivist-relativist-presentist point of view, first effectively developed by Becker and Beard, then given a national currency through

such publications as *A Charter for the Social Sciences* (1932) and *Theory and Practice in Historical Study*, S.S.R.C. Bulletin 54 (1946). On examination, this philosophy proves to be an eclectic mixture of ill-assorted splinter ideas, deriving originally from such disparate and contradictory authorities as Croce, Marx, Turner, Dewey, existentialism, and the scientific relativism of Einstein. The recognizable totalitarian elements, said Malin, are élitism, racism, statism, scientism, planning, attacks on religion, challenge to ethical values, and actionism, with the New Deal standing as the vivid realization of this last. As a result of the presentism and actionism of recent thinking there has been a drift away from history itself, in favor of social sciences more immediately functional. Malin closed with a plea for emancipation from the dominant present. While historians should recognize that they cannot be completely objective, they should nevertheless strive for objectivity. The younger generation has "the opportunity, if they only possess the will, to pursue the most exacting, and the loneliest, of all the professions—that of independent and objective scholarship in history."

Although no one of the three commentators agreed fully with the speaker, yet all conceded some validity in his charges. Joseph Dorfman, Columbia University, questioned the interpretation of Charles A. Beard. Dorothea E. Wyatt, Goucher College, wished that propagandists would label their books better, e.g., *A Biased Account of F.D.R.'s Foreign Policy*, or *A One-Sided Story of How Jefferson Did Everything Worth-While in American History*. Emotionalism and absolutism, observed Wallace E. Davies, University of Pennsylvania, were not altogether missing from Malin's own paper. In any case, the winds of doctrine are now veering decidedly into the conservative quarter—and he marshaled the recent writings in deft and informative review. Ever since the professionalization of history, the intellectuals have been alienated from the dominant business culture. But now both Babbitt and Robber Baron are being given a much more dispassionate, even friendly, treatment—while the liberals are scrambling in search of a more tenable middle ground. "An era in which an Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., discovers the existence of evil is bound to have some qualms about the old liberal dogmas. . . ." Surprisingly enough, there was practically no comment from the floor. The audience sat still, as if realizing that this last repast of the convention might be digested better in slow and quiet afterthought.

III

The cold war has so focused European attention on the United States and its role in world affairs that the teaching of American history abroad has become an important part of many European universities and schools. Particularly appropriate, therefore, was it that the sessions on professional problems should open with a survey of the status of American history at Salzburg, Aberdeen, Oxford, and in Germany. The teaching of American history at these was discussed by Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, James W. Silver, University of Missis-

issippi, and Charles S. Sydnor of Duke. David S. Sparks of the University of Maryland spoke on the American history programs being carried on in Germany. Merrill Jensen, University of Wisconsin, presided at this session.

A session closely related in subject matter to "American History Abroad" was held on "Graduate Training: Study and Research Abroad." Chairman James F. Mathias of the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation introduced four graduate students in history who had recently studied in Europe. Hanna D. Holborn, a Fulbright Scholar, and William R. Emerson, a Rhodes Scholar, both told of their experiences at Oxford, while Elizabeth A. Salmon and Pearce Williams reported similarly on their graduate research in France.

Gilbert A. Highet's (Columbia University) brilliant performance at the session on "Teaching Ph.D.'s How to Teach," served as an example of how all history departments would like to have their members lecture. The commentators, Thomas C. Mendenhall, Yale University, Dorothy Stimson of Goucher College, and Chester P. Higby, University of Wisconsin, as well as some of the large audience attending the session, disagreed over the amount of training needed to produce good teachers. Some, including Highet, felt that it was difficult to train any teacher, while others argued that they could be trained, but that the problem lay in the method of training. Theodore C. Blegen of the University of Minnesota was chairman.

The specific problems arising out of teaching history in the technical institutes were discussed in two papers presented Saturday morning. Duncan S. Ballantine, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, read a paper entitled "History and General Education: The Virtues of Necessity." Allen A. Gilmore, Carnegie Institute of Technology, spoke on "The Methods and Concepts of History in Professional Schools." Two representatives from professional schools, W. Appleton Aiken of Lehigh University, and David Elliot of the California Institute of Technology were the commentators. D. G. Brinton Thompson of Trinity College was the chairman of the meeting.

"The Place of History in Adult Education" was discussed at a very lively session under the chairmanship of Felix E. Hirsch of Bard College. The first speaker, Hans Simons, president of the New School for Social Research, noted that, for the adult student, his courses are not the core of his life experience but a voluntary, additional intellectual effort. Therefore, the instructor has to make the most of the little time his listeners can contribute. He will have to satisfy the adult's interest in the applicability of historical findings to the current situation, and the possibility of forecasts which are better than guesses. The teaching of history has to take the present as its starting point, its frame of reference and its basis, when it comes to making comparisons. For the adult student, the movement of ideas and their effect on history, including ideas about history itself, are more important than the skeleton of what are regarded as significant events. The adult can gain from such a study of history a better sense of proportion and a

deeper understanding of the relation between his own country and the rest of the world. Simons concluded that the study of history may mean a great human experience instead of a mere accumulation of facts. Stringfellow Barr, president of the Foundation for World Government and visiting professor of political science at the University of Virginia, concentrated on the "great" historians. He believed that the works of Thucydides, Herodotus, Plutarch, Tacitus, Bede, and Gibbon are more desirable for adults to use than a mediocre college textbook, for these authors had wide and deep sympathies, a broadly humane point of view and a judicious mind, and they did not suffer from the occupational diseases of the mediocre historian. Barr took issue with those "scientific historians" of our time who respect accurate data more than the ideas that might have brought intelligibility to these data. Had the need of the adult student for such a deeper historical interpretation "been met in my own country during my own lifetime," he said, "it is unthinkable to me that we Americans would find ourselves in the plight we are currently in." An extended discussion was led by Ruth Lawson of Mount Holyoke College, who considered from her own varied observations as a scholar and teacher the three questions: what are we educating adults for; what are the ruling tendencies of our time; and what light can history throw on an age such as ours?

The session on book reviewing was well attended and those present felt the discussion would bear comparison with the 1912 session when Carl Becker read the leading paper. This time the leading role was taken by William B. Willcox of the University of Michigan, who stressed the central responsibility of editor and reviewer in determining the fate of a book. A good review could not make a book, but a bad review might ruin it. He classified and illustrated adequate reviews and pleaded for consideration for young authors making their first contribution. To editors, he made two suggestions: to submit the review to the author before publishing it and to put reviews on the same competitive basis as that applied to the selection of articles. The three participants in the discussion, all editors, pointed out the practical difficulties of these devices. To George B. Carson of the *Journal of Modern History* they seemed unworkable, nor was he sure that one unfavorable review among many ruined a book. He felt that an editor having selected a reviewer should stand by him, short of total incompetence or legal liability. His further remarks were a clear exposition of the problems offered by reviews to the editor of a strictly professional historical periodical. Francis Brown of the *New York Times* put in a plea for a type of review that Willcox had disparaged, the review that said little of the book and went on with a pleasing exposition of the topics suggested to the reviewer. In selecting reviewers, he had in mind a staff of dependable, literate, and broadly informed writers. With problems of space and deadlines for a weekly, he was obliged to exercise greater freedom in editing reviews. Charlotte Kohler, of the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, who professed to take the part of the reviewer, claimed something of

the same editorial privilege, especially in eliminating clichés and making the reviewer talk tersely. The chairman, Guy Stanton Ford of the *American Historical Review* closed the discussion with some tart remarks on a reviewer not hitherto mentioned, the reviewer who does not review and ignores all reminders, and on the author who reduces the panel of possible reviewers by having his manuscript read in whole or in part by all the other specialists in the field. He agreed with Willcox that an editor should seek and experiment with young scholars and thus encourage them.

The session on "Writing History" which convened on Friday afternoon heard Ralph E. Turner of Yale report on the UNESCO project to write a multivolume "Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind." As chairman of the United Nations commission established to write this history, Turner gave a vigorous defense of the validity and timeliness of the project. Donald C. McKay of Harvard read a paper on "The Sumner Welles Series," and comments were made by Mary Latimer Gambrell of Hunter College and Henry Dater of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. The chairman, Samuel H. Brockunier of Wesleyan University, handled expertly an acrimonious discussion.

On Sunday at the session on "The Current Religious Revival and Historical Interpretation," E. Harris Harbison of Princeton discussed "The Meaning of History in Current Christian Thought." He observed that, since the outbreak of the Second World War, a renaissance of Christian thought has quickened an interest in both theology and history. A new and sharpened perception of the role of Providence in history, as well as of the demonic, seems to him discernible. There is an impressive effort to preserve and to renovate the Christian idea of history as moral and spiritual progress nourished by divine grace and the redemptive merits of Christ. But most Christian writers and thinkers he believed to be just as suspicious as professional historians of vast philosophies of history. Salo W. Baron of Columbia spoke on "The Impact of Wars on Religion." In analyzing the consequences to religion of the Roman-Jewish War of 66-70 A.D., the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, and World War I, he noted two consequences: a religious awakening among previously agnostic, or superficially religious, persons, and an arousing in men of dormant sadistic impulses. The three wars set in motion quests for new religious absolutes. In his comment, Roderic H. Davison, George Washington University, agreed with Harbison that the day of belief among historians in secular utopias is passing, if not already past.

IV

Of the twelve special sessions, four dealt with American diplomatic and military topics since the First World War. Indeed, the first session on "Inter-Bellum Diplomacy, 1919-1945," opened with a paper by Gordon A. Craig, Princeton University, on "The Professional Diplomat and His Problems, 1919-1939." He emphasized that neglect of the advice of the professional diplomat was not

limited to totalitarian dictatorships but was a general phenomenon in many of the democratic countries. In examining the decline of professional diplomacy in Britain and France during the interwar years, Craig pointed out that the leading ministers by-passed the foreign offices or kept them uninformed about negotiations. He illustrated this point by referring to the conduct of foreign affairs by Lloyd George, Ramsay MacDonald, and Neville Chamberlain. He also stressed the tendency of the home offices to accept as true only those diplomatic reports which corresponded to their preconceived ideas or to the requirements of domestic policies. Almon R. Wright of the Department of State, in his discussion of the "Diplomacy of the Panama Canal, 1936-1947," showed the great difficulties which the United States, in its concern to maintain a good neighbor policy, experienced in its negotiations with Panama. Since the Convention of 1936 provided for consultation and agreement upon measures necessary for the protection of the Canal, the United States had to make far-reaching concessions after the outbreak of the war in order to obtain the right of occupation for sites necessary for defense. After the war, American military authorities demanded an extension of these leases for ten to thirty years, and very complicated negotiations were necessary before an agreement was reached. Even then the Panamanian Assembly, under the pressure of public opinion, rejected this agreement and by mid-February, 1948, all sites were evacuated. The commentators, Robert Strausz-Hupé of the University of Pennsylvania, and William L. Neumann of the University of Maryland, agreed with the main points in Craig's paper. An extended discussion centered mainly on two questions: to what extent has the nature of modern democratic industrial society made traditional diplomacy impossible? and, how valuable a source are modern diplomatic documents, since the decline of professional diplomacy has limited their importance?

At the session devoted to "Experiences with Soviet Russia as an Ally," Forrest C. Pogue, a historian on the staff of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, and T. H. Vail Motter, of Princeton, New Jersey, spoke. In his treatment of "American-Soviet Relations in the Persian Corridor in World War II," Motter asserted that, although the United States forces were there to supply the USSR with millions of tons of much needed goods, the United States representatives negotiated from a position of weakness. In large part this weakness arose because the Russians regarded the Americans as the heirs of a long rivalry between Russia and England; from the lack of a unified command over the entire corridor in view of the separate zones established under Russian and Anglo-American control; and from the extreme Soviet insistence on the letter of the bond in each operation. The hostility encountered in the Soviet zone in Iran Motter explained in terms of the Soviet government's long-standing aims for extension of its influence to the Indian Ocean through Iran, and of its constant assumption that the United States was engaged not in a wartime operation of supply to an ally but in establishing a postwar domination in Iran. He concluded

that it is necessary to negotiate with the Soviet leaders from strength and not to separate different aspects of the negotiation into political, military, or economic factors since the Russians themselves regard them all as a single complex.

In his discussion of "Why the Russians Got Berlin and Prague" Pogue said that a careful examination of the evidence produced no basis for saying that the decision to halt the advance of the Allied forces at the Elbe and in western Czechoslovakia was the result of a political decision or promise made to the Russians in advance. Rather, it was General Eisenhower's conclusion that he should, on military grounds, seize the Baltic coast and clean up the forces in the South rather than push on to the Elbe. Accordingly, he informed the Russians that he would stop along the middle and upper Elbe for the time being, so that they would know how to fit their plans into his. Both the British chiefs of staff and Mr. Churchill urged President Roosevelt to join in reversing this decision and in pushing on to Berlin. The President, however, maintained that military factors were primary and that a prestige victory, such as was involved in pushing on to Berlin, was not worth the additional military cost. Similarly, the decision to stop the American and Allied advance in western Czechoslovakia, thus leaving Prague to be liberated by the Czechs and the Russians, was based upon a military decision to set up in advance a demarcation line between the Soviet and SHAEF forces. Pogue concluded that the U. S. military leaders were opposed to political solutions to questions that could be settled, as in this case, on a military basis; that there was no evidence that public opinion in the United States supported a move to Berlin or Prague; and that the decision made on a purely military basis to end the war as quickly as possible with the smallest possible number of casualties was a proper decision. Harry Schwartz, of Syracuse University and the *New York Times*, felt that Pogue's paper added up to an indictment of military thinking in that it showed the naïveté of the Western leaders and a failure to evaluate the experience with administration by zones in Iran. It also illustrated the failure of Intelligence to evaluate the threat of a German redoubt in the South, as a factor which contributed strongly to the reluctance to push on in the north to Berlin. He felt that the United States was slow to see the interconnection of political and military factors in decision-making and asserted that only an alert public opinion could improve this situation. Douglas K. Reading, of Colgate University, held that the United States had been too much bound by legalisms in its policy in Iran during the war, that it had striven to remain oblivious to great power politics and to Soviet aims in the East. While the Soviet policy in Iran had been clear, he said, the American policy had not been clear as to its long-range purposes. Philip E. Mosely, Columbia University, served as chairman.

"The Far East in United States Strategy" was the subject of a successful session which convened under the chairmanship of Arthur W. Hummel, chief of the Division of Orientalia of the Library of Congress. Although he was originally

scheduled to speak on "Formosa," Robert Ross Smith of the Department of the Army changed his topic to "The Strategic Background to the Approach to the Philippines." In reviewing the Allied efforts to recapture the Philippines during the Second World War, Smith pointed out that while there was general agreement that they would serve as a key base from which Allied forces could cut Japanese lines of communication, and from which they could attack Japan itself, there was considerable debate concerning the best method of approach to the islands. General MacArthur, whose views were seconded by many Army and Navy planners, favored an advance along the northern coast of New Guinea to the islands between New Guinea's northwestern tip and Mindanao, while the United States Pacific Fleet under Admiral Nimitz would cover his right flank by destroying or containing the Japanese Fleet. The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the other hand, believed that the Central Pacific route of approach to the Philippines should be given priority since it would more directly threaten Japan; provide for the optimum employment of the U.S. Pacific Fleet; would be logistically easier; and, finally, would be better hygienically. Smith then traced the factors which operated to modify both the MacArthur and the Joint Chiefs of Staff plans, and explained the strategy which was finally pursued to gain an initial entry into the Philippines. The second speaker, Riley Sunderland, also of the Department of the Army, read a paper on "China as Ally." Comment upon the two papers was made by John J. Nolde of the University of Maine, and Woodbridge Bingham, of the University of California at Berkeley.

Alfred A. Knopf presided over the meeting on "American Conservation Policies" which convened Friday morning to hear two papers. In the first, "Natural Resources and Conservation Policies," A. William Smith of the Conservation Foundation, New York City, traced conditions in the England from which the settlers came, and noted the conditions they found in the colonies. By the nineteenth century, however, the Americans had developed a new attitude toward natural resources. Primed by population pressure, technical improvements such as the self-scouring steel plow and the seemingly limitless amount of land available, the pioneer with axe and flame began to practice the exploitative farming techniques for which we are paying today. In closing, Smith noted that, in addition to government conservation policies, the present high land values, the need for heavy investment in stock and equipment, and the great demand for produce has at last persuaded the farmer himself to engage in sound conservation policies.

A more specific aspect of the conservation movement was treated by Thomas G. Manning of Washington in his paper "Yellowstone Park and the First Forest Reserve." Despite the early appeal of the Park as a place of scenic wonders and as "a great breathing-place for the national lungs," the public did not take enough interest in Yellowstone to prevent attempts to exploit the Park's natural resources. The difficulties of reaching the Park were so great, and the expense of a trip so prohibitive that the friends of the Park urged that the Yellowstone

country be designated a wild game preserve and a forest reservation. Even though twenty-thousand people, mostly hunting enthusiasts, petitioned Congress in 1888 to enlarge the size of the Park and to make it a game and timber reservation, there was little public support. Moreover, a power lobby in Washington backed by strong support in Montana was working against the basic National Parks idea. There was a legislative stalemate until President Harrison signed a proclamation establishing the Park on March 30, 1891. Discussion was led by E. Louise Peffer of the Food Research Institute, Stanford University.

"Christian Assumptions in Occidental Histories of China" was the subject of a paper by Professor S. Y. Teng of Indiana University on Friday afternoon. In an impressive survey of Occidental accounts of China over several centuries, Teng developed the general thesis that although there were periods in the past when Western accounts were very fair, and while some scholars, such as Chavannes, had approached the subject in a truly scientific manner, Western writers have usually judged Chinese culture by the standard of contemporary "Christian" nations. However, Teng recognized that Western scholars have contributed much to Chinese historiography by extending its scope from mere chronological arrangement to systematic interpretation that includes social and economic materials. Two commentators, Harold C. Hinton of Georgetown University and M. S. Bates of Union Theological Seminary, took violent objection to some of Teng's remarks. Both thought that the speaker had erred in virtually identifying religion and culture so that "Christian" often became the equivalent of "Western." Nor did the many unfavorable opinions of Chinese society by nineteenth-century writers mean that they possessed a superiority complex. Hinton closed his remarks with the denial that the evidence of Teng's paper proved that Western scholars have usually looked at things Chinese through the eyes of Christians. Bates pointed out the impossibility of the historian's pleasing all Chinese, and then outlined a set of rules which might be followed by a historian writing of a culture other than his own. He suggested that many missionary writers had actually observed these tenets in writing Chinese history. The chairman of the session was Paul H. Clyde of Duke University.

"New Points of View in Economic History" was the subject of two papers presented Friday morning by David S. Landes of Harvard University and M. Postan, of Cambridge University, a summary of whose paper is not available. Landes recommended the use of social and psychological factors to humanize economic history. Since the war, he said, sociology has developed a sizable body of empirical hypotheses concerning social attitudes and values and their influence on human behavior which could be of great use if applied to private records of businessmen, to the official archives of business firms, and to other actors in the economic process. This effort to study the human being in economic history and to place him in his social context would mark a new departure in economic history. John W. Oliver of the University of Pittsburgh served as chairman of

this session and J. C. Russell of the University of New Mexico was the commentator.

"Ottoman Influences in the Balkans" was the subject of a session presided over by Harvey P. Hall, editor of the *Middle East Journal*. Sydney Nettleton Fisher of Ohio State University, in the opening paper, traced in detail "Ottoman Feudalism and Its Influences upon the Balkans" from its beginnings down to its disappearance in the nineteenth century. He found that foremost among the effects of this feudal system upon the Balkans was the emergence of national states devoid of a class of hereditary nobility. At the same time, however, it created a wide gulf between peasants and proprietor and prevented the national assimilation of one by the other. Finally, the unfortunate state of Ottoman feudalism in its decline left in the Balkan peasants an attitude of deep suspicion toward all government and a distrust of all political affairs. G. G. Arnakis of the University of Kansas City next spoke on "The Futuwwa Tradition among Akhis, Bektashis, and Craftsmen as a Factor in the Establishment of the Ottoman Empire." In his comments, Wayne Vucinich of Stanford University complimented the speakers for both content and interpretation, but he felt that Fisher might have explained more precisely the difference between Ottoman feudalism prior to the seventeenth century and after that period. Similarly, Arnakis did not give sufficient attention to the craftsmen, their guilds, their inter-relation, and in what way they differ from one another.

Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina was the principal speaker at the session held Saturday morning on "Nationalism in the Antebellum South." Fred Cole of Tulane University presided at the meeting. The four speakers approached the subject by developing the careers of prominent southerners of the period. Green's paper, "Duff Green and States Rights," showed that Green (1791-1875) was educated in the strict construction, state rights philosophy of the Jeffersonian school and was consistent in support of these views to the end. He noted Green's stand on the issues which confronted the country between 1820 and 1860 and indicated his role in developing the political, economic, and cultural solidarity of the South that had merged, by 1861, into a southern nationalism. Margaret L. Coit, West Newbury, Massachusetts, speaking on "Southern Nationalism and the Secession Movement," which she illustrated from her acquaintance with John C. Calhoun's career, contended that fear of the freed Negro, bottled up in the South, competing with and underselling the poor whites, had united poor white and slaveholder and made southern nationalism possible at last. The other bases for nationalism in the South, she emphasized, were only secondary to this central factor. Russell E. Miller of Tufts College, in commenting on Abel Parker Upshur, a contemporary and political friend of Duff Green, said that Upshur exhibited a strong sectional allegiance which was expressed as both political and cultural nationalism. James Rabun of Emory University stressed the emotional bases of southern nationalism.

While many of the variable factors that give people a consciousness of nationhood were present in some degree in the South, he insisted that the strongest of the roots of secession and southern nationalism were to be found in emotional impulses that were derived mainly from the struggle over slavery.

Frances S. Childs presided at the well-attended meeting on "The French Revolution Abroad." John Hall Stewart of Western Reserve University opened with a paper on "The Fall of the Bastille on the Dublin Stage." In estimating the significance of two popular plays which appeared dealing with the Bastille theme, Stewart stressed their propaganda, rather than their dramatic, value and noted their inevitable effect on shaping Irish public opinion on the French Revolution. Richard M. Brace of Northwestern University explained that "The Libertine Crusade of 1792" meant to its supporters a humanitarian movement to secure the natural rights, the liberty and the equality expressed in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. He related these ideas to their setting in the period of the Enlightenment and then traced their gradual evolution into the militant Jacobinism of 1792. Frances Acomb of Duke University in her comment told how the French crusade appeared to a conservative publicist, Jacques Mallet du Pan, citizen of Geneva and political editor of the *Mercur de France* from 1784 to 1792. E. L. Higgins of the Arkansas State Teachers College asked why the fall of the Bastille was of such interest to Irishmen, and what elements in society made up the enthusiastic Dublin audiences? After commenting amusingly on the revolutionary contradictions in terms such as "foreign patriot," and more profoundly on the Propaganda Decrees, he compared the propaganda techniques of the French revolutionaries to those of the totalitarians of our day.

"Spengler in 1951" was the subject of a paper presented by H. Stuart Hughes of Harvard University at a meeting devoted to "Freedom of Thought in Philosophies of History." Hughes sought to bring up to date the controversy, which began with the publication of Spengler's *Decline* in 1918, between that group which engaged in specialized disapproval of specific aspects of the work and another consisting of enthusiastic and impressionistic admirers. Hughes viewed Spengler's work as "a manifestation of the enormous effort of intellectual re-orientation that has characterized our century." He agreed with the criticism made by idealist historians of Spengler's cyclical interpretation, but he maintained that the core of the latter's interpretation remains intact. In two major respects his cyclical interpretation fares well, as literature and as prophecy, notwithstanding his shortcomings in the latter field. Hughes argued that the *Decline* remains one of the major works of our century because it is a symbol of a whole age as "a massive concretization of a state of mind—the state of mind of an old society anticipating its end."

R. F. Arragon of Reed College appeared as the second speaker at this session. His paper, "The Place of Reason in Historical Change," described the attitudes taken by ancient and modern philosophies of history toward freedom of thought

as a corollary of the role attributed to reason in social and cultural change. Thus, in ancient thought the view that reason might establish and maintain a just, or at least a stable and balanced, state was countered by the apparently more realistic cyclic theory that condemned all states to deterioration and made moral forces more important than rational ones. The positive role of reason in modern thought, Arragon observed, has been the means of material and cultural progress, and this view has been supported by the confidence in science as the product of thought-inquiry and by the doctrine of the immanence of a universal rational spirit in the historical process. Though British liberalism considered freedom the means and end of a process, positivist and Marxian dogmatism and Viconian and Hegelian philosophies of immanence have tended to make reason authoritarian and to interpret all historical changes as inevitable and rational. Moreover, the cyclic theory has been revived and given an organic inevitability that is in keeping with the view of historical process as the working out of an immanent principle, and this has renewed the suspicion of critically inquiring reason as contradictory to social solidarity. Confidence in the potential effectiveness of rational inquiry and tested knowledge for shaping society, and in the freedom necessary for such inquiry, has not been abandoned in all quarters, but it has been gravely compromised in contemporary thought. Garrett Mattingly of Columbia and James H. Nichols of the University of Chicago were the commentators at this session, and Leo Gershow of New York University presided at the meeting.

The last special session met on Sunday morning to hear F. Dvornik of Harvard University speak on "The Origins of the Muscovite State." He opened with the remark that there is nothing in history to indicate that the Russian is by nature predisposed to accept absolute autocracy. He described as an example of a democratic system of government the old Kievan state in which the city *veche* exercised as great a role in government as the prince himself. Dvornik then noted changes in population movement and economics which allowed for the centralization of government under the new princes of Moscow. He also explained the role which the church and other elements played in enlarging these powers until the Muscovite government became such an autocracy that even the western ideas imported by Peter the Great could not modify the pattern. Andrew Lossky of U.C.L.A. agreed in the main with Dvornik, but thought that more emphasis should be placed on the work of Joseph of Volokamsk and his followers when tracing the rise of the Muscovite State. Peculiar conditions of time and place must not be omitted from the factors that shaped autocracy, Nicholas Riasanovsky of Iowa State University, the second commentator, asserted. He thought that the problems with which the Muscovite princes were faced in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the economic and social conditions of the time, were perhaps of more moment than Byzantine political traditions. In particular he discounted Mongol influence, the weakness of which he ascribed to their cultural poverty. Stuart R. Tompkins of the University of Oklahoma was the chairman.

V

Thirteen joint sessions with affiliated societies met with the American Historical Association this year. The topics treated at these meetings were so varied and some of them were so specialized as to subject matter that it is difficult to summarize them adequately. The Hotel McAlpin was the scene of the joint meeting with the American Society of Church History. Ray C. Petry of Duke University presided at the meeting and introduced the two speakers, Robert T. Handy of Union Theological Seminary and Quirinus Breen of the University of Oregon. Handy's paper on "Christianity and Socialism in America, 1900-1920," discussed the question of the relation between Christianity and socialism. Although a majority of Christians and many socialists believed that the traditional gulf between the two was unbridgeable, a small but aggressive group of Protestant Christians became strong supporters and active members of the Socialist party. Theologically, they reconciled their position by identifying the coming kingdom of God on earth and the co-operative commonwealth of socialism. This identification came to be applied specifically to the Socialist party of America after its organization in 1901, but the shock of World War I led to its failure by dissension over such issues as America's entry into the war and the Russian Revolution. With the central inspiration thus destroyed, the movement of Christians in socialism disintegrated. Breen's learned paper concerned the life and writings of Celio Calcagnini (1475-1541), professor of Greek and Latin letters at the University of Ferrara, canon of the cathedral, and apostolic prothonotary. Although Calcagnini played a minor role in his era, he was engaged in many important church activities. His scientific writings are perhaps more significant for in his *Quod coelum stat, terra moveatur*, he defended the rotation of the earth philosophically, in the scholastic manner of disputation, and humanistically, by appealing to the classical literature.

The Conference on Latin American Studies was chaired by G. H. T. Kimble of the American Geographical Society. In the first paper, "Portuguese Overseas Contacts before Henry the Navigator," Bailey W. Diffie pointed out that we know little of such Portuguese contacts before Henry simply because this aspect has not been studied, for such contacts were abundant. Charles Verlinden's (University of Ghent) paper, "Italian Influence in Iberian Colonization," made much the same point in calling attention to the number and effectiveness of Italians in Portugal. The concluding paper, "Some Aspects of the Peninsular Background of Ibero-American Life," by Charles F. Bishko, examined the development of cattle ranching as an institution peculiar to Spain and Portugal. Such factors as mercantilist economics and the opposition of the Mesta to sheep herding in the New World made it a cattle and not a sheep region.

The development of the railways serving New York City formed the subject for three papers read at a meeting of the Lexington Group. The hundredth anni-

versary of the New York and Hudson River Railroad occurred in 1951, and so a review of the New York Central System was presented. A paper, "Highlights of a Century," by William F. Gaynor of the New York Central System emphasized the great achievement of John B. Jervis in building a road along the steep and winding banks of the Hudson River. George A. Reilly talked on the role of the Camden and Amboy in New Jersey politics, 1850-53, where the management of the railroad and the New Jersey Democratic machine were closely related. This tie-up was perpetuated by the clause in the railroad charter that gave the state a share of the profits as long as the railroad retained a monopoly of the New York-Philadelphia traffic. A large part of the state's return from the railroad, which by 1850 was sufficient to pay the cost of government, arose from high rates on through traffic that did not hurt New Jersey shippers. During the Civil War the legislature relinquished its monopoly, and in 1871 the Camden and Amboy was leased for 999 years by the Pennsylvania Railroad. David M. Ellis in his discussion of New York City and the western trade, 1850-1905, pointed out that prior to 1869 the Erie Canal was the chief route of freight to and from the West. In consequence New York City had an advantage over her rivals to the south. After 1870 the east-west trunk lines became more efficient and took freight away from the canal. This meant that henceforth Baltimore and Philadelphia had slightly lower rates from the West than New York City. But other factors, such as increasing industrialization, financial leadership, and better steamship connections, worked to maintain and even advance New York's relative position by the first decade of the twentieth century. Thomas C. Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania acted as chairman.

At the joint meeting of the Business Historical Society, Charles W. Moore, the chairman, introduced three speakers. "The Mercantile House of McKinney & Williams, Underwriters of the Texas Revolution," Joe B. Frantz of the University of Texas assessed the role of two financial supporters of the Texas Revolution, Thomas F. McKinney, a Southwest trader, and Samuel May Williams, a merchant with experience in Baltimore, Buenos Aires, and New Orleans. They had established a typical mercantile capitalist business in Texas by 1833, and when war came they devoted their credit and organization to serve the cause of Texas. In her paper on "Labor in the Early New England Carpet Industry," Nancy P. Norton of Harvard University discussed the establishment of a code of employer-employee relations after 1825 under the new factory system. Since this was the era of the skilled male hand-loom weaver, the experience of adjustment varied from that of other New England textile firms. The final paper, by Vincent P. Carosso of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, analyzed "Werner Sombart and Business History." He noted Sombart's contributions to the development of business history, and stated that he was more than just a major historian of capitalism since he also had a wide interest in such essential aspects of business history as the rise of a "spirit" of capitalism, the role of business and the businessman in

history, the role of accounting in the development of modern capitalism, and the dominant place of man in the whole system.

The joint session of the American Association for State and Local History on "Area Studies in Local History" was presided over by Albert B. Corey, New York State Historian. The three speakers on the program brought to the discussion a variety of interests and backgrounds, but all had a common concern about materials available for, and the problems involved in, writing local history. Granville Hicks of Grafton, New York, explained the difficulties involved in finding data adequate for writing the history of a small town. Angie Debo of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College spoke on some of the problems connected with the research, writing, and publication of her book, *Prairie City*. The difficulties in presenting truthfully the story of real-life personalities and their ancestors in a community can be grievous ones. Miss Debo's solution was to create a composite prairie community instead of using an actual one. However, all her facts and conversations are true, and the incidents she faithfully described all took place in that section of the state. The author of local history, however, must devise some way of insuring accuracy while not offending the friends and relatives of personalities in the book. Allan Nevins, Columbia University, in his comments placed particular stress on the contrast between local histories written a century ago and those published in recent years. Many of the early works were monumental in size but poorly written, and they contributed little to the understanding of history. Recently, a new pattern has evolved emphasizing readability for a large audience. These books have been rich in anecdote and the picturesque. Even though they may represent an improvement over some local histories, they are weak and flimsy. All three of the speakers stressed the universality of local history. It must show the relation of the specific area to other areas, and it must relate the past to the present.

At a joint meeting with the American Military Institute, presided over by Wood Gray of George Washington University, the problem of mobilization and demobilization of the United States Army in World War II was treated by two members of the armed services. M. A. Kreidberg, USA, pointed out that prior to World War II the United States had never begun a major war with any real preparation in advance. Mobilization planning for World War II was far more comprehensive and functional than ever before. Both military and industrial mobilization plans, developed by the General Staff, and industrial mobilization plans, developed by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, were ready when the war came. Kreidberg listed five flaws in our mobilization planning: insufficient planning personnel; non-co-ordination of defense and foreign policy; failure to confide in Congress and the people in time to permit certain defense measures to be taken; the tendency of Congress to follow the executive in defense matters; and the tendency of peacetime military staffs to become so meticulous in procedures that they become inflexible in thought and action. John C. Sparrow,

USA, thought that the United States had also shown a lack of judgment in its demobilization policy. Although plans were drawn up for demobilization during World War II, they had to be whittled down because of an almost hysterical public demand, directed through Congress and the civilian administrative agencies, to "get the boys home." As a result, the means needed for the enforcement of the victory were taken away from the United States, and other nations not so fully disarmed could take advantage of America's self-inflicted weakness. Sparrow, in closing, said that an educated public is necessary to prevent the repetition of such reckless behavior.

Albert H. Imlah, of Tufts College and the Fletcher School, conducted an extremely successful meeting of the Economic History Association which over a hundred people attended. The joint session was devoted to a consideration of the role of the historian in the analysis of economic growth. Walt W. Rostow of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology presented the principal paper arguing that the historian, including "the historian in general," should join in, and perhaps guide the work of synthesizing the social sciences for a more unified application. The particular task in the field of economic history is to analyze more closely, in the light of the great developments of social science techniques and economic theories, the long-term factors in economic growth too much neglected by economic theorists in the Keynesian and post-Keynesian period. Rostow stressed particularly the need for organization of teams of social scientists for this task and expressed confidence that, if specific problems are chosen for analysis and an agreed set of questions are posed, the answers supplied by the various disciplines can be unified. Commenting on the paper, both George R. Taylor of Amherst College and Adolf Sturmthal of Bard College commended the proposal to return to the historical approach of the classical economists and gave qualified approval for team organization. Sturmthal, perhaps with some implied reservations regarding the special fitness of historians to guide co-operative efforts, directed the substance of his comment to an illustrative examination of the Kondratieff cycle and socialist movements, in 1919-1939, in various European countries.

Harold J. Grimm of the Ohio State University presided at the joint session of the American Society for Reformation Research. Harold S. Bender of the Goshen College Biblical Seminary presented a paper on "The Anabaptists and Religious Freedom in the Sixteenth Century," stating that the Reformation brought no gain for religious liberty, that the sixteenth century was one of intensified persecution, and that the Anabaptists were the common target of Catholics and Protestants alike. He quoted both outstanding scholars of the Reformation and the writings of the Anabaptists to show that Anabaptism was the forerunner of modern religious liberty. As a powerful, though small, evangelical reform movement, it challenged Christendom to free religion from compulsion, to separate church and state, and to stop the burning of heretics. In the discussion which followed, John T. McNeill stated that there was a reluctance to persecute people

because of divergent beliefs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, too. Roland Bainton said that the main reasons for the persecutions in the sixteenth century lay in the desire to maintain the *corpus christianum* and that the Anabaptists believed that the church was free from tares, while the Reformers believed that the tares and wheat were to be found in both church and state. Ernest G. Schwiebert warned against oversimplifying Lutheranism and against characterizing it as an upper-class movement. Quirinus Breen stated that humanism was a force favoring toleration, but not on strictly religious grounds. George W. Forell pointed out that Luther's concept of the two kingdoms was relevant to an understanding of his attitude toward the Anabaptists, that it was not the church which persecuted, but the state which exercised its *exousia* against anarchy.

A joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, presided over by Richard W. Leopold of Northwestern University, was devoted to "Pressure Groups and American Foreign Policy." The importance, difficulties, and inherent limitations of this approach to diplomacy were revealed. In dealing with "The Navy League and American Foreign Policy after the First World War," Armin Rappaport of the University of California sketched the objectives, methods, and arguments of the League in the years through 1930. He concluded that the organization did not have any significant financial backing from munitions makers or shipbuilders; that its influence can easily be exaggerated; and that while it could not divert a prevailing current, it did stimulate action and aided existing forces when conditions were right. In "War or Peace: America First Committee Strategy, 1940-1941," Wayne S. Cole of the University of Arkansas analyzed closely the origins, membership, and purposes of that noninterventionist body. He argued that its leaders sought to narrow the foreign policy debate to the simple issue of whether the United States should become a full belligerent in the European war and that they did so as the only means of insuring unanimity within their diverse group. He concluded that this strategy, though partly successful, was frustrated by the Japanese attack in the Pacific. By way of comment, James L. Sellers of the University of Nebraska questioned whether the Navy League had been wise in concentrating on England as the potential rival. Walter Johnson of the University of Chicago asserted that war or peace was in 1940-1941 a false issue. He felt that more attention should be paid to the economic and geographic pattern of the America First Committee and contended that its opposition to President Roosevelt's foreign policy resulted from its hostility to his domestic program and a fear of wartime controls upon American business.

The Southern Historical Association met in a lively joint session chaired by C. Vann Woodward. In the first paper, "Toward a Reconsideration of Abolitionists," David Donald of Columbia University described the abolitionists' social origins. He had classified 106 principal abolitionists according to age, sex, race, place of birth, occupation of parents, education, religion, and political affiliation, and presented a composite picture of the typical antislavery radical. Social and economic

leadership was being transferred from the country to the city, from the farmer to the manufacturer, from the preacher to the corporation attorney. Expecting to lead, as his fathers had, he found no following, and he became a part of an élite without function, a displaced class. Eventually, he came to make the natural identification between monied aristocracy, textile manufacturing, and southern slave-grown cotton. An attack on slavery was his best, if quite unconscious, attack on a new industrial system, and his call for emancipation was thus a double crusade. Donald admitted that leadership of humanitarian reform may have been influenced by revivalism or by the British antislavery precedent, but its true origin, he liked to think, lay in the drastic reorganization of Northern society. T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University treated the subject "Toward a Reconsideration of Civil War Generals." One reason why the North won the Civil War was that it developed two things the South did not: a central command system and a central plan of strategy. Since the political and social system of the South was based on the principle of localism, it had to fight a war of localism. Williams traced the development of the Northern command system, discussing Scott, McClellan, and Halleck as generals in chief, and stating that no one of them possessed the qualities to fill the office. In 1864 the North achieved a modern command system with Grant as general in chief and Halleck as chief of staff. In analyzing Lincoln's role in the Civil War, Williams commended him as a great war director and a great natural strategist, one who was better than any of his generals. Although he interfered in the direction of the war, he was acting in the tradition of previous presidents and many of his interventions were necessary.

At the joint session with the Agricultural History Society, which was presided over by David M. Ellis of Hamilton College, the possibilities for new research in the fields of ancient and medieval agriculture were expounded. Tom B. Jones of the University of Minnesota pointed out the opportunities for research in the agricultural history of ancient Mesopotamia for which abundant archaeological and written sources are available. He cautioned scholars against the dangers of oversimplifying the involved and varied history of three millennia. Jones analyzed in detail the agricultural practices of the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur touching upon such aspects as the cultivation and irrigation of land, the recruitment of labor, and the use of implements. His contention that farming probably began in the hills and subsequently moved to the valleys aroused considerable comment. F. M. Heichelheim of the University of Toronto then traced the rise and fall of agricultural prices between ca. 600 B.C. and A.D. 618 relating price fluctuations to the major political and economic changes of the ancient world. In the final paper, Herbert Heaton of the University of Minnesota spoke, in place of M. M. Postan, on problems of agrarian history in medieval England. He analyzed the period of great agricultural expansion between 1150 and 1350, when the three-field system became widespread, when the Germans settled the eastern and southern frontiers of central Europe and when the spirit of enterprise caused

clergy and laymen to enlarge their domain operations and to seek new markets. After 1350 agriculture in western Europe experienced a period of stagnation and shrunken profits, and landlords were more willing to commute feudal dues.

The joint session with the American Catholic Historical Association took place on Sunday morning. Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University, presided over this final meeting. Martin R. P. McGuire of Catholic University discussed the development of Christian humanism from the Church Fathers through Thomas Aquinas and Dante. He stressed especially the great intellectual achievement of the fathers in assimilating pagan literature and learning and the equally great achievement of Aquinas in harmonizing the Christian faith and a philosophy based on the pagan Aristotle. Crane Brinton of Harvard described types of modern humanism from the Renaissance to the present. He rejected the term "humanism" as an antithesis of "scientism" and concluded that "humanism" is a "level" of human experience, higher than the naturalistic level, lower than the religious. Franklin L. Baumer of Yale, commenting on Brinton's paper, pointed out that the easy confidence of early modern humanism has disappeared and that many modern humanists are pessimistic about the future. He found, however, a restrained optimism in certain modern humanists. Father Horigan of Georgetown University, who substituted for Father Walsh of Fordham, emphasized the delicate balance between the human and the divine in medieval thought, achieved through the concept of grace perfecting nature.

VI

The annual dinner of the Association took place in the Grand Ballroom of the Statler on the evening of December 29. John A. Krout of Columbia, as toastmaster, presented the president of the Association, Robert Livingston Schuyler of Columbia. His address on "The Historical Spirit Incarnate: Frederic William Maitland" appeared in print in the January number of the *Review*. Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary of the Association, announced the winners of prizes. The Committee on the Beveridge Memorial Fellowship awarded honorable mention to the "History of Marshall Field and Company, 1865-1906" by Robert W. Twyman, assistant professor at Bowling Green State University. Professor Catherine E. Boyd's (Carleton College) manuscript, "The Ecclesiastical Tithe in Medieval Italy," was selected for publication by the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund. The Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize went to Professor Howard Robinson of Oberlin College for his book, *The British Post Office: A History* (Princeton University Press) and an honorable mention was awarded Professor Ralph W. Hidy of New York University for his book, *The House of Baring in American Trade and Finance: English Merchant Bankers at Work, 1763-1861* (Harvard University Press). The Watumull Prize went jointly to Professor T. Walter Wallbank, University of Southern California, for *India in the New Era* (Scott, Foresman) and to Louis Fischer for *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi* (Harper and Brothers).

Two affiliated societies also held dinners, and several societies met in luncheon conferences. William E. Lunt of Haverford College, president of the Mediaeval Academy of America, presided at the Academy's dinner on December 28. The speakers were Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton and James L. Cate of the University of Chicago. In his paper on "The Crusade of Philip III against Aragon," Strayer stressed the importance of this crusade in 1285 as marking the end of a period in which the papacy could count on an almost automatic response of the French king to an appeal for help, and hence the end of the crusade as a regular and reliable instrument of papal policy. After this unsuccessful venture by Philip III, his son and successor, Philip the Fair, lost interest in the Mediterranean and concentrated his efforts on expansion to the north and east. This decision, a wise one from the French point of view, weakened the political position of the papacy. In a witty and entertaining satire of English and American heroics, "With Henty in the Middle Ages: A Tale of a Boy's Historian," Cate drew upon the novels of G. A. Henty. Their romanticized versions of the Middle Ages explained Henty's influence in arousing in American boys of a generation ago an interest in medieval history.

Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin presided at a dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association which also took place on Friday. He introduced Wendell H. Stephenson of Tulane University, who spoke on "William E. Dodd, Historian of Democracy." Stephenson characterized Dodd as a dynamic teacher who inspired his students, a writer who united past and present in a stream of history, a citizen who recognized an obligation to enlighten society, and a public servant who faithfully performed his duties. Whether he was writing about the Old South or the New, the southern colonies in the seventeenth century or the United States in the nineteenth, or political and economic issues of the twentieth, the same democratic yardstick was applied to men, measures, and institutions. In recording America's past, Dodd expressed a sympathy for the common man and confidence that practical democracy, if given a fair trial, would exalt his social, economic, and political station. The men who best illustrated Dodd's concept of democracy were Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson. Of Jefferson and Lincoln, he wrote with alarming assurance; of Wilson he was less certain. Whether as a college teacher, a public lecturer, a Virginia farmer, or ambassador to Germany, Stephenson stated, Dodd personified democracy.

At the luncheon of the Conference on Latin American Studies members heard "The Colored Castes and American Representation in the *Cortes* of Cádiz" by James F. King of the University of California at Berkeley. Charles E. Nowell of the University of Illinois presided at the luncheon.

At a mid-day meeting of the Society of American Archivists, Lester K. Born, secretary general of the International Council on Archives, reported on UNESCO efforts to preserve documents in member states both for the use of scholars and for the use of mankind as segments of cultural heritage. Gigantic plans for dupli-

cation of all important source materials in all accessible countries have been formulated, Born said, but the prohibitive cost of such a task, plus the many difficulties involved, has so far prevented their being carried out.

At a third luncheon conference held on Friday, December 28, President Ray C. Petry of the American Society of Church History delivered an address on "Social Responsibility and the Medieval Mystics."

On Friday afternoon a Ladies' Tea, arranged by Caroline Robbins of Bryn Mawr College, attracted, instead of an estimated forty, well over one hundred guests, including a substantial number of gentlemen. This experiment proved a highly successful innovation despite a few administrative difficulties. The response was such as to justify the hope that a Ladies' Tea will become an established custom at our meetings.

Two luncheon conferences met Saturday, December 29. The Modern History Section listened to a paper by Rudolph A. Winnacker of the Department of Defense on "Modern History and National Security." Donald C. McKay acted as chairman of the meeting. At a meeting of the Agricultural History Society, Carl C. Taylor of the Department of Agriculture discussed "The American Farmers' Movement: An Historical-Sociological Analysis." The presiding officer was Lewis E. Atherton of the University of Missouri.

In conclusion the writer of this report would like to thank the many program chairmen and speakers who kindly sent in summaries of the sessions in which they participated. Although every attempt has been made to preserve as much of the style, coverage, and spirit of the summaries as possible, apologies are offered to those whose remarks have been omitted (sessions for which no summaries were submitted have been, perforce, omitted) and to those whose speeches may have been inadvertently distorted. It is hoped that at least a few of the speakers will have recognized the summaries of their handiwork.

Yale University

HOWARD R. LAMAR

The Year's Business, 1951

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1951¹

An executive officer must ask himself when he prepares a report what it is that his fellow members want to know and ought to know about the affairs of our organization. It does not help much to try to remember back to the time when, as a member, you were one of the constituency for something over forty years. That spans the good old times when the elder statesmen, some of them founders of the Association, were presidents, members of the Council and members of the Board of Editors of the *Review*, of which some were the actual owners. They ruled

¹ Read at the business meeting of the Association, December 29, 1951.

wisely and well. One revered them as great teachers and producing scholars. The finances were not a problem, for the chief figure, not only then but in all the history of the first fifty years of the Association and the *Review*, was J. Franklin Jameson, who was also head of the historical division of the Carnegie Institution in Washington. Problems of headquarters and staff were lightened by mutually profitable services of each organization to the other. There was nothing to be concerned about. At least I cannot remember that as a member I was concerned about anything. Then came the revolt led by three highly vocal recalcitrant members who gave voice in the press, chiefly the *Nation* of those days, to unbridled attacks that in the end had as much to do with personalities as with principles and procedures. The elder statesmen were deeply hurt but fought back. The puzzled membership could only make out that there was at bottom one reality, namely, a misunderstanding as to the ownership of the *Review*, which most of us had casually thought was the property as well as the organ of the Association. That transfer made by the individual owners and a change in elections were the concrete results of the controversy. I came on the Council at the end of the unedifying squabble in time to make an impromptu motion that closed it. Frederick Jackson Turner, my old teacher, came up to me afterwards and said that he had never realized that I was such a good politician. This was something of which I was never openly accused again except by a Farmer-Labor member of the Board of Regents of the University of Minnesota. Except for a term as a member of the Board of Editors when Dr. Jameson was the efficient editor, I was, like yourselves, a plain garden variety member. Then the responsibilities of the presidency of the Association turned my attention to the affairs of the organization. A committee headed by Professor John Hicks did a thorough study of the management and found that it had drifted into decentralization in four different centers, the least important of which was in the traditional headquarters in Washington. The committee's report dealt with procedures, finance, and organization, not with persons who were trying to make a four-headed organization work. That is evident, I think, when I can say that three of the four are now on the Council and two have been or are presidents of the Association. Its recommendations when approved gave us the present organization. Having had to do with this reorganization, it might seem that I had planned a job for myself, but I hasten to defend both the committee of selection and myself by recording that they tried hard to find someone else and appealed to me only as a second or perhaps third choice. I must admit that this personal account of relations with the affairs of the Association does not represent the average member's experience. But if you will reflect upon it, as I have from time to time, it does give an executive secretary and managing editor some guidance not only from day to day but in reporting to a membership that is almost double what it was a dozen years ago.

The most vivid and interesting report that I could render would be a wire

recording of a day or a week in the Washington office. Unfortunately, neither my office or the Black Hole of Calcutta, alias the smoking room in the Annex to the Library of Congress, is equipped to do this. One conviction such a record would bring to all members is the wisdom of the return to Washington as a base of operation. In no other place could your central office perform as many services to members or to public and private agencies. The importance of the Association with its nation-wide personnel is recognized by the calls from governmental or other agencies for aid or counsel or to furnish rosters of specialized persons. To be at the end of a telephone in Washington may have its disadvantages but they are very few from the standpoint of the Association and the advantages are many. Even if we should sometime face finding rented quarters in a crowded capital, it would be money well spent to remain there. The steady inflow of articles and books from foreign as well as domestic sources is a tribute to the *Review* as something more than a national periodical.

These indications of the Association's national standing and service, even without details, are things the members should know. From the history of the past any responsible officer should be constantly aware that despite necessary centralization there must be as wide a distribution of member participation as possible. This is best done through membership in our many committees with a rotation that will keep the benefit of experience available in some part of all committees. It means that the *Review* should be constantly alert in the selection of articles, books to review, and competent reviewers to judge them. Speaking broadly, it means that young men and women should be encouraged in their special interests. If they try more than their maturity warrants, they should be given such criticism as will not discourage those who have shown some ability. In the matter of reviewers, I took it as a compliment when a veteran member said, "I don't recognize the names of a goodly number of the reviewers today." I did not tell him that I did not either, for in a single issue I would be hard put to it to recall the source of the decision to assign a review to a hitherto untried reviewer. The reasons for nonassignment to a logical reviewer are often more compelling than those for assignment—the chief of which is usually found in the author's acknowledgments to those who have advised him or read parts of the manuscript. I recall also a remark to me by Professor Turner. He said, "I don't know about the meetings of this Association where you meet and make friends with scholars whose books you may be asked to review. When I was a young man," he went on, "I reviewed Schouler's *History of the United States*. I met him at the next meeting and he was such a nice old man that I doubt if I could have written that review after knowing him."

In concluding these reflections on what a member might want to know about the central office, I would recall that in the election by the whole membership of the two controlling bodies of the Association, the Council and the nominating committee, and the reserved right of nomination by petition, you as members have the power to direct its affairs. If you do not vote, you are abdicating that

right. The elected officers, as representatives of the Association, serve it that in turn it may serve truth-seeking in teaching and writing history. That is a high calling in which the humblest among us shares responsibility with the highest.

First among the details the membership should know is an assurance that the finances are on a sound basis. The treasurer's report which I commend to your attention gives assurance that we are in the black. We are relieved of any more payments following the \$15,000 contributed to the Library of Congress during the last two years for the preparation of the *Writings on American History*. Against some increases in normal items in income must be set off decreased profits from the *Review* due to higher printing costs, and this increase runs into all items in other office expenditures. Effective at once the Council has made modest increases for my four assistants who face increased costs of living and the temptations of government salaries in Washington for like services. I want to record my appreciation for their loyalty and efficiency. If the lady members of the Association ever feel their sex does not have enough to do with running its affairs, they forget that four of them are keeping the Association going and doing it with the co-operation of one mere man who learned his limitations a long time ago.

Mention of the *Writings on American History* leads me to report first on the National Historical Publications Commission set up by Congress on the initiative of the President. This Association is represented, by Council election, by Julian Boyd and Guy Stanton Ford. Professor Richard Shryock is one of the two presidential appointments. Dr. S. J. Buck represents the Librarian of Congress, Dr. Rudolph A. Winnacker, the Department of Defense. Mr. Philip Hamer is director and Wayne Grover, the Archivist of the United States, is chairman. Other departments, the Supreme Court, and both House and Senate have representatives. In a preliminary report to the President it has named sixty-six representative Americans whose papers should be published and will add to the list. Five were especially singled out: Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, John Adams, and John Q. Adams. It is not the intent of the Commission to undertake such publication itself or ask Congress for supporting contributions. It hopes to explore and encourage such publication by appropriate private and public institutions. For instance, the Lincoln and Jefferson projects were under way before the Commission was set up and the publication of the papers of Andrew Carnegie has recently been underwritten. The Commission at its last meeting approved as its own responsibility the continuation of the preparation of the manuscript of the *Writings on American History* on the condition that the Association carry the costs of publication from its share in the Smithsonian appropriation and that its Committee on the Annual Report act as an advisory committee. Few things that have happened this year can give scholars in the field of American history more satisfaction than this assured future for a bibliography that has led a precarious but honorable life since 1902. Its new status may lead to some modifications in the terms on which it is distributed. If it does, the news will be carried in the *Review*.

The Commission also has under favorable consideration two long-neglected

documentary projects. The first would cover the debates and talks on the ratification of the Constitution and the first ten amendments. The second would give us from all possible sources the accomplishments of the First Federal Congress.

At the head of the usual items of an officer who combines the duties of executive secretary and managing editor are properly membership and the *Review*. Our membership on December 15 was 5,958.

Volume LVI of the *Review*, from October, 1950, to July, 1951, contained 1075 pages, only two more than the preceding volume. The usual twelve articles were distributed by fields, one on the purpose of history (the presidential address), five in American history, one in medieval, and five in European. Of the notes and suggestions, four were in American history and two in European. There were exactly the same number of long reviews as in Volume LV, 233, and a few more short reviews. Ninety-five articles were submitted as against 103 in 1950. Sixty-six were returned. A few are under consideration or subject to revision. As editor, I am grateful to the busy scholars who have served as critics and referees of articles that seemed to have a reasonable possibility of consideration.

The Committee on the Annual Report through its chairman, Philip Hamer, says that the present funds from the Smithsonian will provide only for the thin volume of the official report and one volume of the *Writings on American History*. The volume of proceedings for 1950 is off the press and will be distributed soon. All galley and some page proof for the *Writings* of 1948 has been received and the volume will come out within a few months. Copy for 1949 is ready and half of the work on 1950 is done. It is plain that the work of Dr. Masterson is piling up copy faster than the funds for publication accumulate. The consolidated index for 1902 to 1940 undertaken by the late David Matteson is revised from A through K and work is proceeding on the rest of the alphabet. These two volumes will be expensive to print and, unless additional funds are found, will have to find a place in a schedule already crowded by the volumes of the *Writings* now in preparation.

The following committees making awards have been inactive this year due to the fact that this is the off year for granting some of the prizes. This applies to the John H. Dunning Prize and the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize. The George Louis Beer Prize and the Beveridge Fellowship committees report that they did not find any of the work submitted of sufficient merit to warrant an award. The Beveridge Committee does record honorable mention to Dr. Robert W. Twyman for his manuscript "History of Marshall Field and Company, 1865-1906." Dr. Twyman is, at present, an assistant professor at Bowling Green State University, Ohio. The committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund has been gratified to receive more manuscripts than usual and is now engaged in reading them.² The

² The committee later made the announcement that the manuscript selected for publication this year is by Professor Catherine E. Boyd of Carleton College and entitled "The Ecclesiastical Tithe in Medieval Italy."

Committee on Honorary Members received news of the death of Dr. Altamira too late to nominate someone to fill this vacancy and bring the quota up to the full fifteen. The recipients of the Watumull and Schuyler prizes will be announced this evening at the dinner (see p. 820 above). The Littleton-Griswold Committee, which is this year losing its efficient chairman for the last six years, Professor R. B. Morris of Columbia, reports progress on the preparation of three volumes which were reported last year as in the process of preparation; namely, (1) the Prince George's County Court book of Maryland, (2) the Rhode Island Equity Court volume, and (3) the records of New Jersey Quarter Sessions courts for the Revolutionary period.

Social Education, on whose editorial board this Association is represented and whose funds are dispensed through our office, has had a reasonably successful year, both in finances and in the quality of the articles that have been available. Our elected representative on their board, Professor Destler, is retiring after a number of years of faithful service. As his successor, the Council has chosen Professor Robert Riegel of Dartmouth. Your Executive Secretary is, *ex officio*, the other member of the board.

The Committee on Government Publications will later present in the form of resolutions some of the results of its deliberations.

The chairman of the Committee on Documentary Reproduction reports that his committee is concentrating its attention on two matters this year. First is the development of the joint American Historical Association-Library of Congress program of microfilming. To forward this, they have supported the application for Fulbright scholarships of several competent scholars who could survey archives and microfilming programs. They have received reports of work already done by Fulbright research scholars working along the lines of the committee's interests from Professor Howard Rice, who has submitted a checklist of unpublished portions of inventories and bibliographical materials in the French archives and in certain French ministries, from Professor A. P. Nasatir, who has been doing microfilming for the Bancroft Library and the Library of Congress (for the latter, he has covered the French consular reports before 1792), and from Professor Robert L. Reynolds, who has submitted a checklist of manuscripts and of microfilm material prepared for the Library of Congress from the Genoese Notarial "cartularies" of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From Professor Peter Topping, there was a report of progress in preparing a bibliography of manuscripts in Greek archives relating to the Greek Revolution and the history of Greece since 1830. Other promising projects are, for the moment, without the necessary support but will not be abandoned. The second great interest of this committee is represented by the microprint publication of the nineteenth-century British House of Commons Sessional Papers. As of October, 1951, they have reproduced 2,000,000 pages or about half of what is to be covered. Subscribers have now received microfilms of the papers for the years 1820-1864. The committee

has under consideration the possibility of extending this project backward into the eighteenth century and possibly forward into the twentieth. The full report on all these items will appear in the printed volume of the *Annual Report*. The committee still profits by the devotion and energy of its chairman, Professor Edgar L. Erickson of Illinois.

Professor Donald C. McKay of Harvard, who is our representative to the International Committee of the Historical Sciences, reports that a reasonably successful international meeting was held in Paris this last summer. It was clear that further consideration should be given to the arrangements and program of future congresses in order that they might be more rewarding. It will be the responsibility of the national committees and of the American Historical Association as the committee for the United States to submit suggestions for such improvements. Your Executive Secretary will write later to all of those whose names he has as present at the meeting and ask for their comment. He would be glad to have the names of any of our members who attended the Paris meeting. From these comments a consolidated report will be made in mid-June, 1952, in Brussels to a joint meeting of the executive committee and of the general assembly of the International Committee. The result of their deliberations on the above matters will be made available to the Italian committee which is in charge of the forthcoming conference in Rome, 1955. The *International Bibliography* has now appeared in the eighteenth volume. It is expected that the president of the Commission will present a report on the future form of this bibliography. Dr. S. J. Buck is our representative on the special committee on bibliography and has already submitted some very constructive suggestions. One item from the minutes of the meeting of the executive committee in Stockholm in June of 1951 may be of interest to our members. There has been created in the National Archives in Paris a service which keeps track of all research being carried on by French and foreign scholars in all the archives of France. This is an exceedingly useful service. Our representative at this Stockholm meeting was Professor Samuel E. Morison, substituting for Professor Donald McKay.

Professor Roy F. Nichols reports for the Social Science Research Council as our representative and the present chairman of that Council. All three of our representatives, Messrs. Clough, Ellis, and Nichols, have been active in the major committees of the Council. Its Committee on Historiography, headed by Professor Ralph Turner of Yale, will soon bring out a report on the intellectual relationship between history and the other social sciences. The Council is continuing its system of research fellowships and grants-in-aid and in area-training fellowships. A number of members of this Association have been beneficiaries of this program. Census bureau studies pursued jointly with the Council will probably result in monographs of interest to historians. Absence from the country has brought about the resignation from our panel of Messrs. Clough and Ellis.

Professor Strayer reports for the American Council of Learned Societies that

that organization is pursuing activities mentioned in earlier reports and has developed new activities. One of these is a series of conferences on the relation between science and the humanities and on law as a field for humanistic study. The Russian translation project will issue two additional volumes soon. The *Review* has already carried a note on the joint publication with the Social Science Research Council of the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*. The list of subscribers to this publication is growing rapidly. The fellowship program that was recently expanded provides part-time release of faculty members for study in fields other than those the recipient normally follows in teaching and research. Young scholars cut off in their careers by economy measures due to decreased enrollments have received grants enabling them to pursue their studies and develop their skills. In time, as the costs of publishing mount, the membership of this Association and all scholars are going to be increasingly grateful for the studies being made by Mr. Henry Silver of the staff of A.C.L.S. of methods of publication other than letter press.

It is a matter deserving a word of comment that the last two reports bring to the attention of the members of the Association opportunities through fellowships and grants-in-aid to pursue research and writing. When you add to these two reports the Fulbright and Guggenheim fellowships and other support programs noted from time to time in the *Review* the outlook for productive scholarship is not so bleak as it is sometimes pictured. Fifty years ago, the old *Review of Reviews* published an article on the four leading living American historians. They were, as I recall, James Ford Rhodes, Henry C. Lea, Henry Adams, and Alfred T. Mahan. The article emphasized the fact that all four were not members of any university staff. What I would point out is that three were men of independent means who could hire assistants and copyists and the fourth was in a position where he had time and free access to his sources. Today, I know only one historian engaged in a large historical enterprise who has similar advantages. Today historical writing that will stand the test of scholarship is almost solely dependent upon the efforts of men on academic staffs. Neither salaries or sales give large rewards. A recent listing of the chief books in the last fifty years selected, of course, largely on a sales basis contained only five titles that by the most liberal interpretation could be called history. Historical studies, large or small, must be planned and pursued in the future by university men. Universities and learned institutions and foundations are becoming aware of this responsibility not only in the case of history but in all the humanities. Young scholars can undertake the planning of larger writing projects with some hope that when they have given evidence of their purpose and ability support will be forthcoming. In the meantime, it would not be hard to find today examples of older men who are pursuing to successful completion major works of significance in the field of biography and history. Not one of those I have in mind has been turned aside from his task by more remunerative forms of publishing. By husbanding their time and resources

with minor aid from their universities and some grants-in-aid they are doing work as definitive as any history writing can be. To all interested in history this is as encouraging as any detailed report about the affairs of your Association.

This concludes the formal report of your Executive Secretary and Managing Editor with one exception. On your behalf, he acknowledges with gratitude the devoted labors of all the committees whose work he has so inadequately summarized. There is due a special word of commendation to the chairmen upon whom always and in any committee the heaviest responsibilities fall. The labors of two committees, that on program, headed by Professor William H. Dunham of Yale, and on local arrangements, headed by Professor Henry F. Graff of Columbia, are making their own report by giving the Association another rewarding annual meeting.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL STATLER, NEW YORK,
DECEMBER 27, 1951, 2:00 P.M.

Present: Robert L. Schuyler, President; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary; Thomas A. Bailey, Leo Gershoy, Paul Knaplund, Dexter Perkins, Max H. Savelle, Joseph R. Strayer, A. P. Whitaker, Councilors; Sidney B. Fay, Samuel E. Morison, Conyers Read, William L. Westermann, former Presidents; John H. Kemble, Pacific Coast Branch.

President Schuyler called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the 1950 Council meeting were approved as published in the April, 1951, issue of the *Review* (pp. 735-41).

Mr. Ford summarized his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor. (See pp. 822-30 above.)

The Treasurer, Dr. Buck, reviewed the financial statement for the fiscal year 1950-51 which he later summarized at the business meeting. The financial assets of the Association on August 31, 1951, amounted to \$479,704.46 of which \$220,754.10 is unrestricted and \$258,950.36 restricted. The receipts of unrestricted funds exceeded disbursements by \$7,311.13. This sum includes, however, \$2,569.94 transferred from the special account "Americana for College Libraries" for investment but not yet invested. Deducting that sum leaves an actual surplus of \$4,741.19.

Dr. Buck reported for the Finance Committee, submitting an amended budget for the current year and a proposed budget for the next fiscal year. After full discussion, these and the expenditure of money spent in excess of the original budget were approved.

The Council reviewed the matter of financing annual meetings from exhibition and advertising space. After a thorough discussion, it was resolved that the

rates for exhibition space be increased to \$50 and advertising space in the program to \$75 per page and proportionately more for cover space. The Executive Secretary was authorized to increase the registration fee, not to exceed two dollars.

The Council next gave consideration to the publishing problem presented by the inadequacy of the Smithsonian funds to cover both the *Writings on American History* and the Matteson Index when the latter is ready. Dr. Buck pointed out that presumably the director of the National Historical Publications Commission would, in view of the fact that the Commission is taking over the preparation of the *Writings*, propose a new system for their distribution. This might involve a charge to those who desire to receive the *Writings*.

The Council next considered the question of increasing annual and life membership dues and setting up junior memberships. After full discussion, Dr. Buck moved that it be recorded as the consensus of the Council that the dues for annual membership should be increased from \$5.00 to \$7.50, that the dues for life membership should be increased from \$100.00 to \$150.00, and that provision should be made for a junior membership at approximately \$4.00. Further, that the present president be instructed to appoint a committee to investigate the problems involved and to formulate necessary amendments for action by the Council by mail vote and then for circulation to the members of the Association at least twenty days in advance of the 1952 annual meeting of the Association. The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

After some discussion of the problem raised by the resignation of Professors Morris, Billington, and Whitaker as chairmen of the Littleton-Griswold Fund Committee, Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications Committee, and Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund Committee, respectively, the Council approved the following recommendations for membership on the committees for 1952:

Committee on Committees.—Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); T. Walter Johnson, University of Chicago—term expires December, 1953; David E. Owen, Harvard University—term expires December, 1953; James W. Patton,* University of North Carolina—term expires December, 1954; Edgar E. Robinson, Stanford University—term expires December, 1953.

Committee on Honorary Members.—Richard H. Shryock,* Johns Hopkins University, chairman; E. Malcolm Carroll, Duke University; John K. Fairbank, Harvard University; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Lewis Hanke, University of Texas; Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D.C.; Geroid T. Robinson, Columbia University; Raymond J. Sontag, University of California, Berkeley.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Lowell Ragatz,* Ohio State University, chairman; Henry Cord Meyer, Pomona College, Claremont, California; A. William Salomone, New York University.

*New member this year.

- Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.*—Howard McGaw Smyth, Department of the Army, chairman; O. J. Hale,* University of Virginia; Richard W. Leopold, Northwestern University.
- Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.*—Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley, chairman; David Potter, Yale University; Francis B. Simkins, Longwood College, Farmville, Virginia.
- Committee on the Publication of the Annual Report.*—Wood Gray,* George Washington University, chairman; Solon J. Buck, Library of Congress (ex officio); Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Wesley Gewehr,* University of Maryland; St. George L. Sioussat, Chevy Chase, Maryland.
- Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.*—Dorothy Burne Goebel, Hunter College, chairman; Fred H. Harrington,* University of Wisconsin; John T. Lanning,* Duke University; Henrietta Larson, Harvard Business School; Alice Felt Tyler,* University of Minnesota.
- Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.*—Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois, chairman; Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University, Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Fletcher M. Green,* University of North Carolina.
- Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.*—Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Harvard University; John Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark D. Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Newark, New Jersey.
- Committee on the Watumull Prize.*—Taraknath Das, Columbia University, chairman; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin; T. Walter Wallbank, University of Southern California.
- Committee on Documentary Reproduction.*—Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; Cornelius W. de Kiewiet, University of Rochester; Austin P. Evans, Columbia University; Milton R. Gutsch, University of Texas; Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Easton Rothwell, Stanford University; Warner F. Woodring, Ohio State University; Richard W. Hale, Jr., Wellesley College.
- Committee on Government Publications.*—Jeannette P. Nichols, Swarthmore, Pa., chairman; James H. Rodabaugh, Columbus, Ohio; Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., Loyola University, New Orleans.
- Delegates of the American Historical Association.*—*American Council of Learned Societies:* Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University. *International Committee of Historical Sciences:* Donald C. McKay, Harvard University; Philip E. Mosely, Columbia University. *National Historical Publications Commission:* Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex.

*New member this year.

National Records Management Council: Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1952. *Social Education:* Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Robert E. Riegel,* Dartmouth College. *Social Science Research Council:* Ray A. Billington,* Northwestern University—term expires December, 1954; Gordon A. Craig,* Princeton University—term expires December, 1952; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1953.

Professor Whitaker presented for comment and advice some changes in the procedures for publishing manuscripts now being considered by the Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund. The substance of the change would be to give the author an election between publication by the committee and choosing his own publisher. The changes would be made in the hope of attracting manuscripts from established scholars. (1) Without altering the cash value of the fellowship, which would remain at \$1,000, the publication terms would be modified. Instead of publication in the Beveridge series under contract with the University of Pennsylvania Press, the recipient might elect to arrange for publication through a private publisher or university press. He would be given one year to complete such an arrangement. No publication costs would be charged to the Beveridge Fund but due acknowledgment would be given to the Beveridge Fund and the publication would carry the Beveridge seal. If no arrangement is made by the author, the chairman would proceed to publish in the usual way through the committee's publisher. (2) There would be no change in the present terms of honorable mention awards, but not more than three grants-in-aid of publication would be awarded. In case three honorable mentions were awarded, it would involve grants-in-aid of \$1,000 each in that year. In these cases the author would use the \$1,000 as a subvention to his own publisher without further expense to the Beveridge Fund.

The discussion centered chiefly on the fellowship. Mr. Buck thought the fellowship at present stimulates publishing of desirable works by promising scholars. He would be disturbed if this change resulted in all Beveridge awards being given to works by established scholars that would be published even if they were not given the Beveridge prize. Professor Whitaker thought the change would not only attract more advanced scholars but the award of the fellowship would attract the attention of publishers as well. The committee hopes the proposed plan would enable them to publish four manuscripts instead of two and at less cost to the fund. The matter was referred back to the committee with the suggestion that the committee really convince itself that it is saving money, putting more books out, and that the quality of the series will continue to serve scholars who need this kind of assistance.

Then, speaking as the American representative on the Pan-American Insti-

*New member this year.

tute of Geography and History, Professor Whitaker presented the following resolutions which were endorsed by the Council:

Resolved, That this Council is very favorably impressed by what the Commission on History has accomplished with the limited funds at its disposal, and regards this Commission as an agency of substantial present value, and still greater potential value, for the promotion both of historical scholarship and of international co-operation among historians;

Resolved, That since the Commission on History is a division of an inter-governmental organization, the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, this Council hopes that the United States Government will take appropriate steps with a view to increasing the financial support accorded the Commission on History by the governments of the American Republics;

Resolved, That the Executive Secretary transmit duly authenticated copies of this resolution to the Secretary of State of the United States, the President of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, and the United States Member of the Commission on History.

The Council, which had received mimeographed copies of the report of the ad hoc Committee on Historians and the Federal Government, then discussed this report and the future status of the committee. This action was in accord with the resolution of one year ago which extended the life of the committee for one year. The discussion of the report indicated that the Council was not yet ready to make the committee in its present form, on the basis of this report, a permanent committee of the Council. It declined to authorize further solicitation of additional funds beyond the present balance of December 21, 1951, of \$1,337.98. However, as this sum would lapse on March 1, 1952, the chairman of the committee was authorized to solicit the extension of the grant to December 31, 1952. The discussion of the past performance of the committee and of future possibilities of any such committee ranged over many topics. The Council was clearly interested in the problem of recruiting personnel for government historical work. Supplying this type of service did not seem to be a function that could be performed by a committee and the idea of an additional person in the executive office hardly seemed practical from the standpoint of both funds and space. In the end, on motion duly seconded and passed, the committee as it stands was continued for another year but definitely charged with preparing a report embodying a definite plan for a committee which would perform the functions subsumed under the name of the temporary committee. This report should be in the hands of the Executive Secretary in time for circulation and consideration at the next meeting of the Council.

Mr. Ford, as Managing Editor of the *Review*, nominated Professor David E. Owen of Harvard to succeed Professor F. C. Dietz, who was retiring after a five-year term on the Board of Editors. The Council indicated approval of this nomination.

As delegates to the Social Science Research Council, the Council elected Professor Ray A. Billington for a term of three years to succeed Professor Shepard B. Clough and Professor Gordon A. Craig as a replacement for Professor Elmer Ellis, whose term will expire at the end of 1952.

By unanimous vote, the Council nominated, for confirmation of the American Documentation Institute, Solon J. Buck as its delegate to the Institute.

Professor John H. Kemble of Pomona College presented a summary of the report of the Pacific Coast Branch. The membership showed a slight gain in the last year and the financial condition of the Branch continues on a sound basis. Professor Kemble expressed the gratification of the Branch for the generosity of the Council in renewing the subvention for its operation next year. The Council then authorized the Executive Secretary to extend greetings to the Council and membership of the Pacific Coast Branch with wishes for success of their meetings which were in session on the campus of Stanford University December 27, 28 and 29.

On motion made and carried, the Council gave approval to the budget for *Social Education*.

Motion was made, seconded, and unanimously approved confirming the action of the Executive Secretary in securing Professor Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins as Program Chairman for the Washington meeting in 1952 and Dean Elmer Kayser of George Washington University as chairman of local arrangements.

Mr. Ford reported on the settlement of the Matteson estate for the information of the Council. The invested funds as of August 31, 1951, were valued at \$65,360. It is expected that this amount will be increased by funds received after August 31.

The Council then took under consideration the problem of refinancing certain bibliographies in English history, Gross (*Sources and Literature of English History*), Read, and Davies. Of these bibliographies, the Gross is out of print and should not be published without revision. The Read at least is in short supply, enough for two years more, and the Davies is in need of revision although the edition is not exhausted. Mr. Ford read the following letter from the Clarendon Press:

Thank you for your letter of 13 November about Read's *Bibliography of Tudor History*. I take it that your letter arises out of my letter to Professor Hale Bellot of the Royal Historical Association in which I explained to him that stock was now reduced to rather less than two years' supply and asked him about the problem of revision.

Your letter calls attention to the provision under the agreement by which the A.H.A. could call upon the Delegates to reprint and, failing agreement by the Delegates to do so, could recover the rights of publication etc. I do not think there is any likelihood that this clause will need to be invoked; for my letter to Professor Hale Bellot implied readiness to proceed with the reprint.

You will recall that by another clause in the agreement any profits were to be devoted first to the repayment of excess corrections, and thereafter "to further

the scheme, whether by way of further volumes of the Bibliography proper or by way of supplementation or revision when the time for such revision comes." The sum paid by A.H.A. for excess corrections has long since been refunded. It therefore remains to determine what sum can be allocated to the revision of particular volumes. I shall now have this looked into.

Meanwhile it would be a help if you could give us some more precise idea of what revision of the Tudor volume Dr. Conyers Read and the A.H.A. think necessary. In particular will it be on a scale which will make resetting of the whole book necessary? For, if so, production of the new edition will be very expensive. It may be, on the other hand, possible to make do with a supplement. Until we have some more exact idea of what is required we cannot make estimates for the cost of the new edition.

A forecast of the time it will take before the material is ready to go to the Printer would also be helpful.

In general you may assure your Council that the Delegates will be anxious to see that this great series is kept going and in the state where it will be most useful to scholars.

Mr. Ford then read the following letter from President W. K. Jordan of Radcliffe College:

May I request that you consider with the Council of the American Historical Association a proposal for exploring the possibilities of preparing and publishing revised editions of the standard bibliographies which bear the names of Gross, Read, and Davies?

I need scarcely say that these are bibliographical works of the first importance and that they are monuments to American scholarship. Moreover, this great series has been extended by the recently published work of Stanley Pargellis. Unfortunately, they are now badly out-of-date, the Gross volume (dealing with the Middle Ages) having been published, in its last edition, in 1915, the Read volume (dealing with Tudor England) having been published in 1933, and the Davies volume (dealing with the Stuarts) having appeared in 1928. Moreover, I am informed that the Read volume is now out of print.

I think all scholars would agree that it would be disastrous if these volumes were to go out of print and that it would be unfortunate if each generation of scholars did not undertake the necessary periodic revisions required if they are to be fully useful.

While engaged in research in England this summer, I talked with a number of English historians about the whole problem and since my return have been in correspondence with several of my American colleagues about the matter. Everyone with whom I have discussed the question seems agreed that we ought to explore the possibilities of a new edition and that we ought to do so with the approbation of the Council of the American Historical Association. May I therefore request that you and the Council consider setting up a committee composed of Godfrey Davies, W. K. Jordan, Wallace Notestein, Conyers Read, Kenneth Setton, and Louis B. Wright to explore the question and that you authorize this committee to negotiate with the Clarendon Press for the publication of revised editions of the Gross, Read, and Davies bibliographies, subject to the approval of the Council of the American Historical Association of any tentative agreement reached with the publishers? Since careful and thorough revision of these volumes will necessarily require a considerable outlay for editorial and clerical assistance, I would likewise propose that the Council authorize the committee

to undertake to raise funds in an amount not exceeding \$25,000 to cover these expenses.

I should also say that, since the Mediaeval Academy is directly interested in the Gross volume, members of the proposed committee are also asking that body to consider the question.

I need scarcely say that the committee mentioned above is at present a most informal group interested only in initiating the undertaking and that no meetings as yet have been held even for a consideration of detailed plans. I think the whole matter should rest at just this stage until the Council has considered the question and until we have its approval. If you should think it desirable, I am sure that any one of the members of the group would be willing to appear before the Council.

After discussion, the Council, having substituted the name of William E. Lunt for that of Kenneth Setton, authorized the Executive Secretary to ask this committee with Mr. Jordan as chairman to proceed in their planning and submit to the Executive Secretary a draft of the proposed plans for bringing these bibliographies up to date, whether by total revision, by supplements, or otherwise, with an estimate of the sum necessary to carry out their plans. This draft would then be submitted, by mail, to the Council for approval.

The Executive Secretary presented a breakdown and distribution of the membership list and brought up the question of publishing it. The Council agreed that the membership list should be included in the next publication of the *Annual Report*.

Mr. Ford then called the attention of the Council to the need for a new list of doctoral dissertations in progress. Mr. Buck moved that the Executive Secretary be authorized to prepare and print a new edition of the list at the expense of the J. Franklin Jameson Fund. This motion was seconded by Professor Knaplund and approved.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, the Council voted to hold the 1954 meeting in New York. The meeting in 1952 will be held in Washington, D.C., and in 1953 in Chicago.

The Council elected the following members of the Executive Committee: James G. Randall, chairman; Dexter Perkins; Robert L. Schuyler; Joseph R. Strayer; Solon J. Buck (ex officio); Guy Stanton Ford (ex officio).

The Council appointed Professor Leo Gershoy as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

Under the head of new business and upon recommendation of Mr. Ford, the Council authorized the incoming president to reactivate the committee to choose Mr. Ford's successor as the Executive Secretary of the Association and Managing Editor of the *Review*. The committee is as follows: Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University, chairman; Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota; Solon J. Buck, Assistant Librarian, Library of Congress.

There being no further business, the Council adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL STATLER, NEW
YORK, DECEMBER 29, 1951, 4:15 P.M.

President Robert L. Schuyler called the meeting to order with about two hundred members present. It was unanimously voted to approve the minutes of the last meeting as printed in the April, 1951, issue of the *American Historical Review*.

Mr. Ford read his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor. (See pp. 822-30 above.)

The Treasurer, Dr. Buck, presented a summary of his report, copies of which had been distributed to the members. The motion was made and passed to accept the report and place it on file. (The report will be printed in full in the *Annual Report* for 1951.)

By unanimous vote, Mr. W. Randolph Burgess was re-elected chairman of the Board of Trustees.

Professor Richard H. Shryock of Johns Hopkins University, representing Miss Louise Fargo Brown, chairman, gave the report of the Nominating Committee. As a result of the mail ballots cast, the committee announced the election of the following:

Members of the Council—E. C. Kirkland of Bowdoin College and Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins University.

Members of the Nominating Committee—C. Crane Brinton of Harvard University and Thomas C. Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania.

For the Presidency of the Association for the year 1952, the committee nominated Professor J. G. Randall; for the Vice-Presidency, Professor Louis R. Gottschalk; and for the office of Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck. On motion, the Executive Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for all nominees and they were declared elected.

Mr. Ford summarized the following actions taken by the Council at its meeting (see minutes of Council meeting, pp. 830-37 above): the report of the Committee on Committees; the appointment of Professor David E. Owen as the new member of the Board of Editors; the election of Professors Ray A. Billington and Gordon A. Craig as delegates to the Social Science Research Council, of Professor Robert E. Riegel on the Board of Social Education; the nomination of Dr. Solon J. Buck as delegate to the American Documentation Institute for confirmation of the Institute; the announcement of the program chairman, Professor Sidney Painter, and the local arrangements chairman, Dean Elmer Kayser, for the 1952 meeting; the membership of the Executive Committee; a change in fees for annual and life membership dues and registration at annual meetings.

The report of the Pacific Coast Branch was presented by Professor John H. Kemble.

The Executive Secretary announced that the membership list will be included

in the *Annual Report* for 1951 and that a new list of doctoral dissertations now in progress in the United States will be published sometime late in 1952.

The following report and resolutions were submitted by Mrs. Jeannette P. Nichols, chairman of the Committee on Government Publications:

As "time marches on" the work of this committee grows increasingly important and more difficult, for American publication needs and programs move in inverse ratios. As our national and international problems become more complex, the area of understanding seems to narrow, instead of widen. Thus, our predicament, as described in the 1945 Report of the Committee on Government Publications, looms forth with yet more serious import in 1951. Six years ago this committee warned: "It is painfully clear that the public stands very much in need of the more adequate understanding which could result from such a [purposeful publication] program; otherwise it will not be possible to substitute broad enlightenment for the suspicion and strife now threatening national as well as international welfare." Today, this is even more true; the reason is not far to seek. It seems more wholesome to state it bluntly than to sugar it over.

The fact is, that if disinterested historical work is to survive, historians cannot forever maintain a lack of interest in the means for that survival. The primary obligation of historians, surely, is to foster the sense of time, so that impatience toward today's problems may be tempered by a modicum of understanding of that past from which grew the present.

Such an understanding of course requires a dual publication policy, intelligently adapted: (a) a stream of erudite publications equipping professional historians to present the historical background adequately to students: (b) a stream of popular publications arresting attention and challenging the personal interest of the mass of reading voters (the nonreading voters are desperately in need of "spoken publications" illuminating the background of current needs).

No government agency has succeeded in doing these jobs in a manner fully to meet the need, for the historians have not moved the electorate to clamor for the service through their congressmen. Historians, in other words, for the most part share the faults of nonhistorians; they lack a sufficient sense of responsibility for public interest in the truth. They fear to protest outrage of history, with the result that documentation and documenter are traduced the more openly and unrestrainedly for political purposes. The few who do protest have their views ignored. This is shameful treatment.

The members of your committee stoutly strove to impress the appropriate powers with the importance of continuing and indeed reinforcing the two streams of government publications. But these endeavors could scarcely be well-rewarded where they were confronted by skepticism as to the usefulness of historical knowledge and as to the patriotism of the purveyors of it.

"Bloody but unbowed" the committee re-enters the fray, venturing to request the American Historical Association to endorse resolutions in a minimum of three publication fields: those of the State Department, of the National Historical Publications Commission, and of the Territorial Papers.

WHEREAS, the American Historical Association applauds the efforts of historians in government service and recognizes the obstacles against which they contend, now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the executive officers and the members of the American Historical Association, representing as they do the historians of the entire United

States, undertake to remind the appropriate federal officials, senators, and congressmen that (1) in this time of crisis maximum official publication of documents on foreign relations is essential to public understanding, without which United States foreign policy will be subject to ill-advised pressures; and (2) that therefore the reporting to the American people on our foreign policy should be expedited: (a) by speeding up the publication of the four principal State Department series—the *Foreign Relations of the United States*, *United States Treaty Developments*, *Department of State Bulletin*, and the *Documents on German Foreign Policy* and (b) by expanding the more popular State Department publication program, *insofar* as this can be done without penalizing the four scholarly series on which the popular program depends for background. And be it further

Resolved, That the American Historical Association, through its executive officers and its membership, urge upon the Administrator of Public Services, the Archivist of the United States, and the chairmen of the appropriating subcommittees of Congress, the need to provide the National Historical Publications Commission with a staff and facilities adequate for publishing materials on key developments in our history and for publishing the papers of our notable leaders, on a scale comparable to that of other great nations, engaged in similar activities. And be it further

Resolved, That the American Historical Association hereby urges the director of the General Services Administration to include in his budget estimate for the years 1952–1953 a sum adequate to maintain the publication of the *Territorial Papers*; and further, to petition the Congress of the United States to appropriate sufficient funds to provide for the continuation of this publication.

On motion made and carried, the above resolutions were approved.

Mr. Ford reported that the Second Congress of Historians of Mexico and the United States will be held in September, 1953.

Professor Leo Gershoy submitted the following resolutions for the Committee on Resolutions:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association record its keen appreciation of the admirably directed energy and patient efforts of the many conscientious workers who individually and collectively contributed to the success of this sixty-sixth annual meeting. It wishes in particular to express its thanks to Dr. Henry F. Graff of Columbia University, chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements, and his associates for their skillful and co-ordinated handling of a trying and cumbersome assignment; to Professor William H. Dunham of Yale University, chairman of the Program Committee, and his colleagues for the rich variety of offerings they have presented and the timely emphasis of so many of these offerings on the social responsibilities of the historian; to the clerical assistance of many volunteer workers; to the management and the staff of the Statler Hotel and especially to Mr. Charles E. Villaverde; and finally to Mr. John Hastings and the staff of the Columbia University Public Information Office for their able publicity work.

This resolution was unanimously approved.

As there was no further business, Professor Frank M. Anderson moved that the meeting be adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

American Historical Association

A list of members will be printed this year with the *Annual Report* of the Association for 1951. Members are here notified that only changes of address received up to June 1, 1952, will be included. Those who do not receive the annual reports and who wish a copy of this list will be able to order separates from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office. The Association will also publish this year another list of doctoral dissertations in progress. Blanks have been sent to all institutions known to us to be giving the Ph.D. in history. If any institution has been missed, will the department chairman notify the office of the Association. Chairmen of all history departments please note that the deadline for receipt of titles for this list is June 1, 1952. The dissertation list will be sold through the office of the Association for one dollar per copy.

The seventh annual competition for the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship of the American Historical Association for the best original manuscript in American history will close on June 1, 1952. Established in 1945, the fellowship has a cash value of \$1,000 and also provides for free publication in the Beveridge series. Honorable mention may also be awarded to one or more additional manuscripts, and this award, too, carries with it free publication in the Beveridge series. "American history" is interpreted as including the history of the United States, Canada, and Latin America. All correspondence, including requests for further information and forms of application, should be addressed to Dorothy Burne Goebel, Department of History, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

Other Historical Activities

The papers of William Howard Taft, covering his long and distinguished career of service to this country, and certain papers of other members of the Taft family, which have been on deposit in the Library of Congress, have now been given to the United States by the children of the late President. Until January 1, 1960, access to the papers will continue to be given only to those scholars who through the chief of the Manuscripts Division, have received permission from a representative of the family. Thereafter the papers will be administered directly by the Librarian of Congress or his authorized representative.

The papers of Colonel George B. McClellan, Jr., have been presented to the Library by Mrs. McClellan. Beginning with scrapbooks he kept during his college days at Princeton, where he was a member of the class of 1886, the papers, numbering about 4,600 pieces, reflect various phases of his career to 1922. They include an account book of the New York-Brooklyn Bridge Company (1889-93), of which McClellan was treasurer; papers covering his four terms as Representative from New York in Congress (1895-1903) and his years as mayor of the City

of New York (1903-1909); and a diary kept during his military service in World War I. In the family correspondence, there are some fifteen letters from his father, the Civil War general, whose papers have been in the Library of Congress for a number of years.

A group of papers composed mainly of the military diaries of General August Valentine Kautz (1828-95) have been transferred to the Library by the Army War College. The diaries, spanning the years from 1857 to 1895, cover all but the earliest part of General Kautz's long and active military service. There are, in addition, a two-volume journal for the Civil War period; a volume of military orders; and eight scrapbooks of newspaper clippings dating from the 1860's to the 1890's.

Ninety-five field notebooks kept in 1887 and 1888 by engineers in the hydrographic, boring, and surveying parties of the Nicaragua Canal Construction Company have been received from the Chase Safe Deposit Company of New York City. These notebooks contain the most minute information about the physical features of the area through which it has recently been proposed to build a second interoceanic canal. Other material of special interest are eight letters written by or to the famous tragedian, Junius Brutus Booth (1796-1852), and his son Edwin Booth (1833-93); an apparently unknown autograph letter of June 6, 1837, from A. Bronson Alcott to Ralph Waldo Emerson, referring to the coming dedication of Hiram Fuller's school at Providence, Rhode Island; an autograph letter from Laurence Housman to Grant Richards, dated November 16, 1899, and a 36-line autograph variant of Housman's "The Elfin Bride"; and reproductions of the original sixteenth-century chronicle, "Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva España y Guatemala," an eyewitness account of the conquest of Mexico by the keenly observant Bernal Díaz del Castillo.

A manuscript volume of George Washington's account of expenses as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, 1775-83, and records relating to the Louisiana Purchase, 1803-1804, have been transferred to the National Archives from the Treasury Department.

The McCormick Collection, containing more than 1,000,000 manuscript pieces and 20,000 printed pieces on American agriculture and its development and on business has recently been acquired by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The collection will be housed in the society's building in Madison and will be available for study and research as soon as it is shelved and arranged. The University of Wisconsin is the residual beneficiary in case the State Historical Society ever ceases to exist or moves from the campus area at Madison. Dr. Herbert A. Kellar was named co-ordinator of the collection. Dr. Kellar has been curator of the McCormick Collection since 1915.

The papers of Henry W. Sage, a chief benefactor of Cornell University, and of the Sage Land and Lumber Company which he founded, have been given

to the Cornell library by a great-grandson of Sage, Edward O. Holter of San Francisco. They are a valuable source for the history of the lumber industry and of Cornell University.

The Mississippi State College Library has undertaken to microfilm files of important county newspapers in the north Mississippi area. The emphasis has been placed on the period since 1890 because of the poor quality of newsprint used since that date. Several rare Populist newspapers have been found among the collections microfilmed.

College administrators and social scientists will find much useful information in a pamphlet issued by the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship of Syracuse University and prepared by Herbert H. Rosenberg and Erin Hubbert. It is entitled *Opportunities for Federally Sponsored Social Science Research*. Copies may be had on request directed to Washington Research Office, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Through no fault of the editors, history is not a government contract service.

The Library of Congress has issued the first number of a new publication listing monographs and periodicals currently received by the Library from East European countries. The new publication, the *East European Accessions List*, is a companion to the Library's *Monthly List of Russian Accessions*. The new publication is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. The subscription price is \$3 a year in this country and \$4 a year to subscribers in foreign countries. Single copies will sell for 30 cents each.

The New York Academy of Medicine has recently published *A Bibliography of Articles on the History of American Medicine Compiled from "Writings on American History," 1902-1937*, by Dr. Judson B. Gilbert. This supplements the bibliography of the history of medicine published annually in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. Copies are sold for \$1.25 and may be obtained from the library of the Academy, 2 East 103d Street, New York 29, N.Y.

The second in the series of "Americana Nautica" has recently been issued by Henry Calhoun Taylor of New York. A reproduction and transliteration into modern text of John Rolfe's "A true relation of the state of Virginia left by Sir Thomas Dale, Knight, in May last 1616," it has been printed by Carl Purington Rollins at the Yale University Press in an edition of 212 copies. The introduction comes from the hand of John Cook Wyllie, curator of rare books in the library of the University of Virginia, a biographical sketch of John Rolfe by John Jennings, librarian of the Virginia Historical Society, and a series of notes on this Pembroke-Taylor manuscript by Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., of the library of the University of Virginia.

Friends and former students of David M. Robinson, professor emeritus (1947) of art and archaeology at the Johns Hopkins University, have taken the occasion of his seventieth birthday to present him with a truly imposing volume of essays introduced by a biographical sketch, a bibliography of his writings, and his sponsored doctorates. The volume of approximately nine hundred pages with excellent plates has been edited by Professor George E. Mylonas of Washington University and is issued under the imprint of that university. It is to be followed by a second volume consisting like this of contributions from scholars in many lands.

The Société d'Emulation du Bourbonnais (11, Place de la République, Moulins, France) is soon to publish *Chartes du Bourbonnais*, a volume of about 500 pages devoted to previously unpublished manuscripts from the period 918-1522 concerning the region of Bourbonnais and the ancestors of the Bourbon kings of France. Pre-publication price of the volume is 3,500 francs.

In a disastrous fire last year the Michigan Historical Commission (Lansing) lost its file of *Writings on American History* and the annual reports of the Association. It desires to replace them, especially the *Writings*, by gift or purchase. Perhaps members of the Association will come to their help.

William L. Winter (114 South Main Street, West Hartford, Connecticut) is preparing a report on Hanseatic research and historiography in the United States for the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*. He would appreciate communications from anyone doing research in this field.

The Business Historical Society announces a business history fellowship for the academic year 1952-1953. The fellowship carries a stipend of \$4,000 and enables an advanced student in history to spend a year of study and research at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Requests for application blanks should be addressed to Professor Thomas R. Navin, Executive Secretary, Business Historical Society, Boston 63, Massachusetts. Applications should be filed by May 1, 1952.

Supported by money given to the University of Pennsylvania by the Ford Foundation in 1950, a seminar of a dozen students is undertaking the study of technological change and social adjustment in Norristown, Pennsylvania, from 1900 to 1950. The students are all advanced doctoral candidates in either American civilization, anthropology, history, or sociology. The research will continue for at least another year, and an additional dozen students will be eligible for substantial fellowship aid next fall. The faculty members directing the seminar are Thomas C. Cochran, American civilization and history, and Dorothy S. Thomas and Anthony Wallace, sociology. Since each student's task will pre-

sumably lead to a doctoral dissertation, it is practically essential that fellows be enrolled for a degree at the University of Pennsylvania.

The Committee on Statistics (a department) of the University of Chicago has established, under a five-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, a program of postdoctoral awards to provide training and experience in statistics for scholars whose main interests lie outside that field. There will be three awards per year, to holders of the doctorate or equivalent in the biological, the physical, and the social sciences. Each award will be \$4000 or slightly more, office space will be provided, and \$600 to \$1000 will be available for clerical, computational, and research assistance. There will be no tuition charges. Recipients of the awards must have received the doctor's degree prior to commencing the program, except in the case of recognized research workers whose experience and accomplishments are clearly the equivalent. Applications, or requests for further information, should be sent to the Committee on Statistics, University of Chicago, Chicago 37.

Friends and students of the late Louis Knott Koontz are planning a memorial to him in the form of an annual award for the best article or document published in the *Pacific Historical Review*. Contributions to the fund may be sent to Dr. John A. Schutz, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena 4, California.

A meeting of scholars in English history was held at New York University on November 10 for the purpose of forming an association. Fifteen universities and colleges and the Folger Library were represented. It was decided that the name of the association should be the "Conference on British Studies." Officers chosen for the coming year are Harold Hulme, New York University, president; Ruth Emery, Rutgers University, secretary-treasurer; J. Jean Hecht, University of Delaware, Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College, Robert L. Schuyler, Columbia University, Jean Wilson, Smith College, executive committee. Meetings will be held semiannually at New York University.

The sixth annual Northern New England Historians' Conference was held at Hanover, New Hampshire, on Saturday and Sunday, October 13-14. About forty delegates attended from Bates, Bowdoin, Colby, Dartmouth, Middlebury, New Hampshire, Norwich, St. Anselm's, St. Michael's, and Vermont. On Saturday evening Professor William Yale of the University of New Hampshire spoke on "Some Problems of the Near East," and on Sunday morning a round-table discussion on the topic "Problems of Coordination in the History Major" was held under the chairmanship of Professor Paul Fullam of Colby.

The autumn meeting of the Upper Midwest History Conference was held on the campus of the University of Minnesota on November 16, 1951. A paper en-

titled "The 'New' Bismark" was read by Professor Lawrence Steefel of the University of Minnesota. Discussants were Brother Michael of St. Mary's College and Professor Kenneth Bjork of St. Olaf College. Professor Steefel was elected chairman for the ensuing year and Professor Walker D. Wyman was re-elected secretary.

A summer seminar on cultural interchange, under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council, will be held at Northwestern University in July and August. Although inter-disciplinary in personnel this group will include several historians: Theodore Saloutos of U.C.L.A., Kendall Birr of the University of California (Berkeley), George Gilkey of Westminster College, Salt Lake City, and Franklin Scott of Northwestern, chairman. Arnold Schrier will serve as assistant. The individual topics center upon the impact of America on Europe, particularly as related to immigration.

The eighth annual institute in the preservation and administration of archives will be held at American University, June 16-July 11. Courses in genealogy will also be given. Applications should be sent to the Office of the Director, 1901 F Street, N.W., Washington 16, D.C., not later than May 5.

Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress, will deliver the first Randolph G. Adams Memorial Lecture in Ann Arbor on October 8, 1952. This lectureship was established in 1951 by the Clements Library Associates of the University of Michigan to honor the memory of their late colleague.

Paul Wallace Gates of Cornell University delivered the Henry Wells Lawrence Lecture at Connecticut College on November 11, 1951. His subject was "From Democratic Individualism to Democratic Collectivism in American Land Policy."

The first James Forrestal Fellowship in naval history was awarded in 1951 to Willard C. McClellan, a graduate student at the American University, for his proposed study "The Development of United States Military Sea Transportation."

At the annual academic convocation of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Washington, D.C., on December 10, 1951, the Serra Award of the Americas was conferred on Carlos Eduardo Castañeda of the University of Texas.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Clarence C. Hulley, professor of history in the University of Alaska, has been granted leave of absence for two semesters to write a history of Alaska. Duane Koenig, of the University of Miami, Florida, will replace him.

Clarence W. Rife of Hamline University served during the first semester of 1951-52 as visiting professor at the American University in connection with the "Washington Semester" program.

In the department of history at Brown University Barnaby C. Keeney, Edmund S. Morgan, and William F. Church have all been promoted to the rank of full professor.

W. Ross Livingston of the State University of Iowa was granted leave of absence to serve as visiting professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles for the current academic year.

Frank Freidel of the University of Illinois and C. Vann Woodward of the Johns Hopkins University will teach in the summer session of Columbia University.

Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, professor emeritus at Princeton University, is visiting professor of history at the University of Delaware during the second semester. J. Jean Hecht is assistant professor of history at the University of Delaware for the current year, replacing John A. Munroe, who is on leave.

David L. Dowd of the University of Florida, who was awarded a Ford Foundation faculty fellowship for the current year, is doing research in France.

Walter. Consuelo Langsam, formerly professor of history in Union College and more recently president of Wagner College (Staten Island) has accepted the presidency of Gettysburg College. He will assume his new duties on July 1.

William E. Leuchtenburg, formerly of Smith College, was appointed assistant professor of history at Harvard University for five years beginning July 1, 1951. Franklin L. Ford, of Bennington College, and Bruce Dale Lyon, of the University of Colorado, have been appointed assistant professors of history at Harvard for five years beginning July 1, 1952. Dr. Lyon is on leave of absence during the current academic year as the holder of a Belgian-American fellowship for study in Belgium.

David S. Sparks of the University of Maryland has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor of history. Charles A. Johnson of the same institution has been recalled to active duty with the United States Air Force and assigned as assistant chief of the historical division to the Headquarters in Wiesbaden, Germany.

Donald E. Worcester of the University of Florida is teaching at the University of Michigan during the spring semester. He has taken over the courses of Irving A. Leonard, who received a Fulbright award to lecture at Oxford University.

In the department of history and government of Mississippi State College Harold S. Snellgrove has been promoted to associate professor of history and Robert A. Brent has been made assistant professor of history.

John P. Harrison of the University of California at Berkeley is now Latin-American specialist at the National Archives.

Vincent P. Carosso of the Carnegie Institute of Technology will give courses in the Technological Institute and in the College of Liberal Arts at Northwestern University during the summer session of 1952.

Eric C. Kollman of Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, will join the staff of the Portland Extension Division of the University of Oregon for the summer session.

Pieter Geyl, professor of modern history in the University of Utrecht, is serving as William Allan Neilson Research Professor at Smith College during the second semester.

Donald C. Cutter, formerly of San Diego State College, has gone to the University of Southern California as assistant professor of history.

Henry H. Simms of the Ohio State University will teach the first six weeks of the summer session of 1952 at the University of Southern California.

Trinity College announces the promotions of George B. Cooper to associate professor of history and of Eugene W. Davis to assistant professor of history.

Mae M. Link, formerly with the Office of Military History, Department of the Army, has been appointed chief historian in the Office of the Surgeon General, United States Air Force.

David B. Tyler has been promoted to professor of history in Wagner College.

Harry W. Nerhood has been promoted to full professor of history in Whittier College.

RECENT DEATHS

Pierre Caron, Lic.-ès-lettres, archiviste-paléographe, directeur honoraire des Archives de France since 1941, and honorary member of the American Historical Association, died in Paris on January 25 at the age of seventy-six. His entire career

was in the Archives Nationales, of which, in 1937, he became director. He had a leading part in the development of modern French historical studies, especially as editor of documentary collections and of major bibliographical tools of research. Chief among these were: *Bibliographie des travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'histoire de la France depuis 1789* (Paris, 1907-12), *Répertoire méthodique de l'histoire moderne et contemporaine de la France, pour les années 1898-1906* (with Gaston Brière and others, Paris 1899-1924), *World List of Historical Periodicals and Bibliographies* (with Marc Jaryc; Oxford, International Committee of Historical Sciences, 1940). In addition to his editorial activities he was author of a number of valuable works on the French Revolution: *Manuel pratique pour l'étude de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1912), *Les massacres de septembre* (Paris, 1935), and *La première terreur, 1792* (Paris, 1950). He was a founder of the *Revue d'histoire moderne*, secretary of the Section moderne of the Comité de travaux historiques, member of the Commission d'histoire économique de la Révolution, and member of the Commission de l'histoire politique et diplomatique de la guerre de 1870-71. His last years were devoted to directing the collection and editing of documentary materials for the history of the occupation and liberation of France.

In 1927 he was selected by the newly created International Committee of Historical Sciences to organize and edit its annual *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, a project which had been proposed to the International Committee as one of its major undertakings by J. Franklin Jameson. With the collaboration of Marc Jaryc—until his death in 1943—Caron served as director of this publication until 1950.

Tall, impressive, kindly, hospitable, Caron had a keen sense of humor. After a notable dinner at the Boeuf à la Mode, since unhappily deceased, to celebrate the founding of the *International Bibliography*, he remarked, "Jamais la bibliographie ne m'a si bien nourri." His name was familiar to many American historians, and he was a warm friend of those who by reason of residence in Paris had the privilege of his acquaintance.

Thad Weed Riker, professor emeritus of history in the University of Texas, died February 17 in Austin. Professor Riker was born in Stamford, Connecticut, November 2, 1880. He followed his bachelor's degree from Princeton with a B.Litt. from Oxford as a Rhodes scholar and was later (1935) honored with a D.Litt. from that institution. After a brief teaching experience at Cornell University he went to the University of Texas in 1909. There he rose through successive promotions to a full professorship in 1923 with the added designation of special research professor in 1941. His interests were in modern European history with special consideration to English and Rumanian history. His volume on *The Making of Roumania* (1931) was translated at the request of the Rumanian Academy of which he was a corresponding member. He was the author of widely used textbooks in modern European history. It was his two-volume *Life of Henry*

Fox, First Lord Holland (1911) that first brought him real distinction. He found his chief diversion as a collector of autographs and stamps. His last service to this Association was as a member of the Board of Editors of the *Review* (1945-48). As teacher and scholar he brought distinction to the institution he served for forty-three years.

The Reverend Donald McFayden, professor emeritus of history in Washington University, St. Louis, died on November 15 at the age of seventy-five. Mr. McFayden was rector of the Grace Protestant Episcopal Church in Amherst, Massachusetts, from 1908 to 1911, instructor in ancient and Bible history in the University of Colorado from 1912 to 1919, assistant professor of history in the University of Nebraska from 1919 to 1922, and William Eliot Smith professor of history in Washington University from 1922 until his retirement.

The Reverend Gerald Groveland Walsh, professor of medieval history in Fordham University, died on December 17, 1951, at the age of fifty-nine years. Father Walsh had served as professor of church history and librarian at Woodstock College, Maryland, 1929-1934, as professor of medieval history in the Gregorian University in Rome (1934-36), and as professor of medieval cultural history in Fordham University since 1937.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Where a book is an obvious and admitted "product of years of intensive research," do not the canons of book-reviewing require that a hostile reviewer present his readers with a full picture of the scope and character of the work and the author's purposes before expressing his own opinions? In his review of *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875*, edited by Morris U. Schappes (*AHR*, July, 1951, pp. 902-903) Frank Rosenthal has been so eager to inform us of his discovery of a fact well known to scholars in the field that Schappes is a Marxist, that he has failed in this fundamental task of the reviewer. His review seems predicated on the assumption that to "expose" a historian's alleged affiliations and philosophy—in this case an unorthodox one—is to relieve the critic of the responsibility of weighing or even presenting that writer's findings.

Authorities of long standing reputation in the field of Jewish history do not share Mr. Rosenthal's contention that it is "doubtful whether Schappes's work will contribute greatly to a more adequate understanding of the Jewish role in the American culture." Professor Salo Baron of Columbia University considered the collection "certainly . . . one of the major contributions in this field to appear in recent years." While taking exception to a few of Schappes's "value judgments," occasional "lacunae" and to some specific interpretations, Baron nevertheless felt the work "will stimulate the study of Jewish history on this continent" (*Jewish Social Studies*, January, 1951, pp. 77-80). Lee M. Friedman, president of the

American Jewish Historical Society, observed that Schappes "has long been known as an accurate and indefatigable researcher, and an original and successful investigator." Friedman noted Schappes's "anti-capitalist point of view and bias" but offered the judgment that "There are few today so competent as he to undertake so laborious, demanding, and time consuming a task" (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1951, pp. 415-18). The reviewer for *New York History*, Sidney Jackson, was of the opinion that Schappes has started in the American-Jewish field what John R. Commons did for the industrial society (January, 1951, pp. 71-73).

In discussing a collection of documents, a critic might be expected to inform us of the principles that guided the editor in his selection. In this work they are stated very candidly in a general introduction of essay length and are in no way concealed as one might infer from the tone of Mr. Rosenthal's remarks. Historians with a familiarity with the literature of Jewish history will recognize, if they examine Schappes's work, that it is singularly free from the numerous self-defeating tendencies they have complained of in writings about American immigrant groups. Schappes has felt no defensive need to show that Jews were always "on the side of the angels": the documents present Jewish Tories as well as patriots, slaveowners as well as abolitionists, anti-laborites as well as liberals, and even a Jewish nativist. It is also obvious that the editor's aim has not been to glorify a few respectable Jewish heroes. An effort is made to develop a rounded picture of the forces within the Jewish Community; class relations in fact are depicted in much greater complexity than Mr. Rosenthal's citations would suggest. Economic history, for example, known to scholars as an especially neglected area of Jewish history, is represented by about thirty documents drawn from business correspondence, wills, newspaper notices and the like.

Although Mr. Rosenthal mentions that "a considerable number of these sources are printed here for the first time," he gives no inkling as to the new areas these items open for investigation or the historical revisions they suggest. Most striking of these is the pattern of anti-Semitism disclosed virtually for the first time in a period where it has been considered unimportant. The extent, scope, and meaning of this pattern awaits evaluation but so large a body of evidence of prejudice and discrimination in business, politics, and social relations can hardly be dismissed as the product of an editor's "bias." Schappes also offers new data on what might be called the Jewish episodes in the separation of church and state and an interesting Jewish chapter in the antislavery controversy. The documentation of three episodes in nineteenth-century diplomacy, the Mortara affair, the Swiss Treaty and the Damascus Blood Libel is also noteworthy; in the latter sequence Schappes presents the first complete statement of the affair.

Mr. Rosenthal's comment on what he chooses to call Schappes's "bias" reflects a confusion on a methodological issue that is of concern to all students with a philosophy of history or a strong point of view. As proof of "bias" the reviewer cites seven interpretations of specific events or movements. Many of these, it may be noted, although unorthodox, will hardly be viewed by all historians with the same astonishment Mr. Rosenthal reflects. (Is there no "social basis" for anti-Semitism prejudice? Was nineteenth-century capitalism free from "sharp practices"?) But more important, it may be asked when does a generalization represent a "bias" and when an opinion worthy of consideration as the product of systematic research? Does it depend on whose ox is being ignored? Is it Mr. Rosenthal's underlying assumption that a historian who has a theory of historical process cannot arrive at conclusions that do not reflect a "bias"?

Schappes's work raises a great many problems of method in writing the history of a national segment, of areas requiring further study and of specific interpretations. The quality of Schappes's scholarship, his recognized contributions in the field, and the pioneering character of his work establish his right to be discussed and not pilloried.

Wesleyan University

ALFRED F. YOUNG

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It is gratifying to learn that 400-word reviews, appearing in the *Review* elicit such violent response, several times longer than the space allotted to the reviewer. However, I shall not resort to innuendos and implications that Mr. Young seems to relish. But why does Mr. Young only refer to those critical reviews of Mr. Schappes's book that speak favorably of his *Documentary History*? It is true the principles that guided the editor in his selection and interpretation are set forth in the fifteen-page introduction, especially pp. xi-xii and xvii, and great emphasis is placed upon the use of such ideological terms as "feudalism" and "objectivity" or the "fundamental, irreducible cause of antisemitism." This reviewer is critical of just this kind of semantics and has so expressed himself.

Drake University

FRANK ROSENTHAL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It has been suggested that the review of J. Russell Major's *The Estates General of 1560* appearing in the October, 1951, issue of the *AHR* "obscures the important contribution that Major makes toward our understanding of the Estates General." Having no desire to do injustice to a competent work, this reviewer would like to emphasize a point he believed had been made clear in the review. Major's book represents an excellent and valuable piece of descriptive research which contributes much useful information concerning the Estates of 1560. Critical comments pertained to what the reviewer considered limitations of insight regarding certain general interpretations presented by the author in his introductory and concluding chapters and not to the material specifically relating to the Estates of 1560. It is to be regretted that in a short notice a critical observation will frequently overshadow statements of positive merit.

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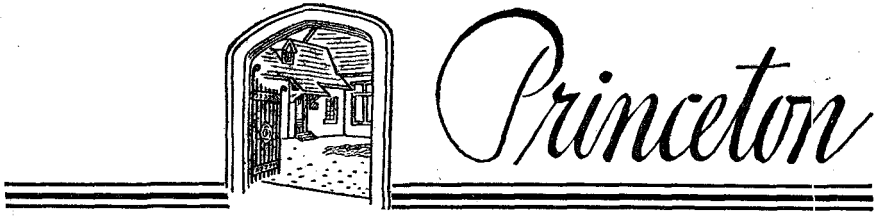
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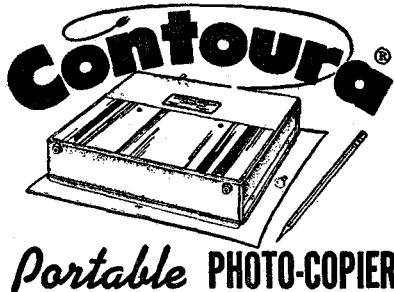
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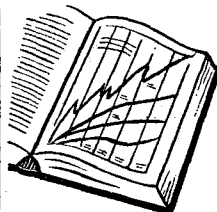
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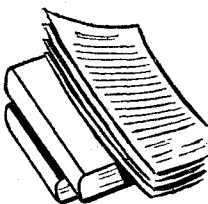
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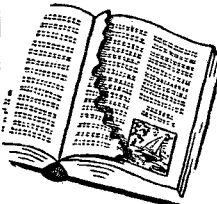
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